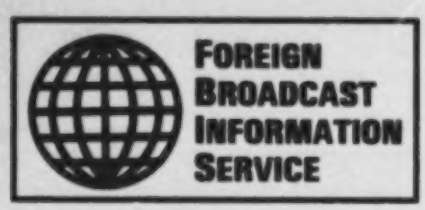

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Deputy Foreign Minister Kapllani Visits Turkey

Talks on Trade, Balkans

AU2601133990 Tirana ATA in English 0924 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—Talks were conducted between the deputy minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, and the undersecretary of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Tugay Ozcer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey.

During the talks, the Albanian deputy foreign minister and his Turkish colleague spoke of the hitherto relations of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Turkey and emphasized the importance attached by the governments of both countries to the their further promotion and increase in various mutually beneficial fields such as the economic-trade, industrial, technical-scientific, cultural ones etc. They pointed to the fact that the ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries serve not only the interests of their peoples, but also to peace and stability in the Balkans.

The deputy foreign ministers talked also of the contribution of Albania and Turkey to the forging ahead of the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation. They emphasized the necessity that with good will and joint efforts of the countries of the region those elements which refrain this process to mark positive steps be overcome.

During the talks which were characterized by a warm and friendly spirit, opinions were exchanged on the situation in our region, the current developments in Europe, etc.

Present at the talks was also the Albanian ambassador in Ankara, Nesip Kaci.

Yesterday, too, the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, laid a wreath on the grave of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, outstanding figure of the Turkish people.

Meets Foreign Minister Yilmaz

AU2601193290 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—Today the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz, received the deputy minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, and had a very warm and friendly talk with him. Mesut Yilmaz expressed his satisfaction over the visit of the Albanian deputy foreign minister to Turkey and pointed out the respect and sincere friendship the Turkish people cherish for the Albanian people, which is consolidating continuously.

Turkey, he said, attaches a particular attention to the promotion of the relations with friendly Albania, considering them as stable relations based on traditional ties between our two peoples and countries. He emphasized that the relations of cooperation between Turkey and Albania have also served the understanding and security in the Balkans.

On his part, the deputy foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, expressed the conviction that the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries will witness a better and secure future, to the mutual benefit and peace in our region.

During the reception there was also discussion on some problems of the current international situation and especially on the situation in the Balkans.

Attending was also the Albanian ambassador in Ankara, Nesip Kaci.

Today, too, the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, was received by the minister of state of the Republic of Turkey, Ismet Ozoslan.

During the reception opinions were exchanged on the further extension of the economic-trade relations between the two countries so that they develop to the level of the political relations.

Likewise, it was spoken of the importance of the coming meeting of the second session of the Economic Trade, Industrial and Technical Joint Commission to be held in Ankara, which will discuss the ways and forms of the further materialization of these relations between Turkey and Albania.

Returns From Visit

AU2801171190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, returned today from an official visit to Turkey. During his stay in Turkey, he met and conducted talks with Tugay Ozcer, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and other personalities. He also met with Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz and with Ismet Ozoslan, minister of state of the Republic of Turkey.

These meetings confirmed once again the friendly atmosphere existing in the traditional relations between Albania and Turkey, the need to continue the dialogue between the two countries, and to further develop cooperation in the fields of the economy, trade, industry, technology, science, culture, and so forth. In addition to the future development of bilateral relations, importance was also attached during the talks to Balkan cooperation and understanding.

Deputy Foreign Minister Plaka Visits Greece

Received at Foreign Ministry

AU2601133590 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, left on an official visit to Greece on January 25.

At the Kakavije border point he was received by the secretary general of the zone of Epirus, Evgenios Khaitidhis.

In the evening the deputy foreign minister, Sokrat Plaka, arrived in Athens, where he was received by the secretary general of the Foreign Ministry of Greece, Alexandros Rafail, by top functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the ambassador of Greece in Tirana, Spiridhon Dhokianos, and the ambassador of Albania in Athens, Izedin Hajdini.

Meets With Foreign Minister

AU2701155590 Tirana ATA in English 1052 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 27 (ATA)—On January 26 the foreign minister of Greece, Andonios Samaras, met with the deputy foreign minister of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, who is on an official visit in Athens.

During the reception the Greek foreign minister, Samaras, emphasized that Greece has pursued and will pursue continuously the policy of good neighbourliness with Albania. He said that the strengthening of the friendly atmosphere between the two countries contributes to the further development of the relations and cooperation.

On his part, Sokrat Plaka, underscored that the traditional friendship between the Albanian and the Greek peoples constitutes the basis on which the relations and cooperation between the two countries develop.

The Greek foreign minister and the Albanian deputy foreign minister emphasized the necessity to promote the process of the Balkan cooperation and expressed the confidence that the two countries will continue to give their contribution in this direction.

Attending the reception were the ambassador of Greece in Tirana, Spiridhon Dhokianos, and the ambassador of Albania in Athens, Izedin Hajdini.

Foreign Ministry Talks Outlined

AU2701155490 Tirana ATA in English 1054 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—The Albanian deputy foreign minister, Sokrat Plaka, met today in Athens and held talks with the secretary general of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Alexandros Rafail. After assessing the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries, they pointed to the possibilities that exist for their further development. They also stressed that the relations of friendship and of good neighborliness between Albania and Greece respond to the long-term interests of our two peoples, of peace and security in the Balkans.

On this occasion they talked on the program of the activities scheduled to be conducted between the two countries during 1990 in fields of mutual interest such as those on economic-trade, technical-scientific cooperation, of culture, exchange of various delegations, etc. Likewise, they exchanged opinions on the course of events in the region as on the steps to promote the process of the Balkan cooperation that contribute to the understanding and confidence among the countries of our peninsula.

The talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, were attended by Spiridhon Dhokianos, ambassador of the Greek Republic in Tirana and Izedin Hajdini, ambassador of the PSR of Albania in Athens.

Holds Economic Talks

AU2801171790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, met with Ioannis Dhragasakis, alternate minister of the national economy of Greece. They exchanged opinions on preparations for the third session of the Albanian-Greek Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation, which will be held soon in Tirana. They discussed the measures to be adopted to extend cooperation in the fields of agriculture, industry, the production of commodities, and so forth.

Sokrat Plaka also met with Pavlos Hadjithomas, general secretary of the Ministry of Trade, with whom he discussed the possibility of further increasing the volume of trade between the two countries, increased border trading, and so forth. Both sides pointed out the real possibilities that exist to increase the volume of trade between the two countries during the current year.

The meetings, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, were also attended by Spiridhon Dhokianos, Greek ambassador in Tirana, and Izedin Hajdini, Albania's ambassador in Athens.

Returns From Visit

AU2801212790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Sokrat Plaka, deputy foreign minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, returned home today from his official visit to Greece. During his stay in Athens, he met and held talks with Alexandros Rafail, Foreign Ministry official. He also met Andonios Samaras, Greek foreign minister; Ioannis Dhragasakis, alternate minister for the national economy; Pavlos Hadjithomas, general secretary of the Trade Ministry, and other persons. The meetings, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, stressed policies of good neighborliness, and the need to strengthen and increase cooperation between our two countries in various fields of mutual benefit and to further deepen the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding.

Mladenov Addresses BCP 14th Congress 30 Jan

AU3001094090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0805 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Political Declaration" read by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee, "On Restructuring the Party and Constructing the Democratic Socialist Society," at opening session of the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress in Sofia on 30 January—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...this situation cannot continue for long because it will involve consequences for the people, the country, and party that would be almost irreversible. The reasons that made it necessary to convene the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] are also based on the fact that our own party is now involved in a rather complicated situation.

Our party was affected to a considerable degree of which we should all be clearly aware. It is not a question of exaggerating, or dramatizing the situation, but we should view the developments underway in our country soberly, and learn useful lessons from the events in the GDR, in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. The experience of perestroyka in the Soviet Union is of particular importance for us, and this applies both to the positive results and to (?failures).

What was the reason for this situation of crisis in which our country is involved, and for the weakening of the party? Different aspects of this question were touched upon at several plenums held following 10 November 1989. It is clear that the final answer requires comprehensive and detailed research which can only be obtained as a general solution based on discussions on a lengthy and detailed scientific analysis related to the party's history and the developments in our society in the last decades.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that we shall not be able to overcome the crisis or restructure the party and society, now shall we be able to protect ourselves against new distortions unless we thoroughly analyze the profound deformations and abuses that Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime inflicted on our party, our society, and our life over the course of more than 30 years. The present crisis and the present state of our party are the inevitable consequences and the social expression of these distortions.

The first task of this congress is to discuss the disgraceful actions, the grave errors, and deformations committed by Todor Zhivkov and his authoritarian regime, especially in recent years; to determine these shortcomings as deviations from the correct approach, from our party's traditions and ideals; and to reject them as incompatible with the party's and people's ideals and principles.

Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime was a classical example of undemocratic power. Such examples abound in history, under all kinds of regimes and social systems. This regime further distinguished itself by some peculiar features related to specific conditions existing in our country and to Todor Zhivkov's personality. This includes his almost pathological suspiciousness and vanity, and his obsession with being considered a theoretician despite his total lack of any intellectual qualifications. He was unscrupulous and devious, he did not hesitate to use any means whatsoever in order to achieve his goals and interests. Especially in recent years, a clique of relatives, close friends, and his favorite proteges formed around him. They were thoroughly corrupted individuals who actually exercized the power within the party and state. A clan which adopted all major decisions on the crucial issues of the party and country without consulting anyone else was established. Through denunciations and slanders, through intrigues and hidden accusations, through [word indistinct], or court trials, this group of people brutally oppressed all cadres who dared to criticize, or who threatened the safety of the regime.

The atmosphere of distrust and intrigues, the arbitrary and (?illegal) forms through which the regime implemented its leading and repressive activities, reached their climax in recent years.

The country's international prestige was also badly affected.

At the same time we could conclude that such an authoritarian, personal regime was no coincidence. It stemmed from an entire system of political circumstances. It emerged after the country's development on the basis of the people's democratic model was interrupted in 1947. As a result of objective and subjective reasons, which are well known to all of us, the command-administrative system prevailed as an alternative over the real people's power, for which the party was striving in alliance with the other progressive, social forces.

Considerable deformations were committed in the sphere of ideology, postulates were canonized on stages of development which no longer conformed with the needs and achievements of human progress. Such a postulate based on an outdated world outlook exhausts its possibilities. A past system which had been considered progressive for the political circumstances of a certain epoch is beginning to stagnate and disintegrate, it will become isolated from the world, unless the progressive trends in mankind's development are perceived in time.

Encountering permanent difficulties and failures resulting from the low standards of political culture and ethics, the rulers often had recourse to coercive methods in order to impose the solution of difficult and controversial social problems.

Comrades, we would not be wrong in admitting that this coercive approach in building a new society proved a convenient instrument for the prevalence of the [word indistinct] over the intellect, for undermining the humanitarian goals of authentic socialism. Unfortunately, precisely this happened in our country as well.

In order to be objective and to analyze the reasons for the present stage of our country with greater realism, we should consider things from the dialectical point of view in order to analyze our past failures. We consider the life of our nation as an uniform process, in which upsurge and decline are proceeding side by side, or as Marx said, despite the claims for progress, manifestations of regression and of a vicious circle are permanently observed.

In this context we should immediately say: Despite all vicissitudes imposed by fate, the socialist transformations were victorious and totally changed our country's appearance. They played the role of rescuers in our historical fate. Some of our political opponents are trying by all means to deny these results. They are lighting candles in memory of the so-called prewar democracy, and are preaching about the so-called virtues of bourgeois-monarchist Bulgaria. They are trying by all means to prove that only the Communists are responsible for the fact that Bulgarian society has not achieved the stage of development which is desired by all people. They are reviving old idols, they are trying to exalt the memory of long since forgotten personalities. However, what kind of virtues, what happy times, what moral standards are our opponents preaching about? [mostly indistinct passage criticizing the present exaltation of past regimes which only damaged the Bulgarian people].

Socialism has established profound roots among the Bulgarian people. As a result of the past changes a considerable industrial base was built compared to our country's size, and modern agriculture was established. Poverty and illiteracy were eliminated, an effective mass health care system was established, and remarkable cultural progress was achieved. Our country was rescued from political isolation. The diplomatic and trade relations which our country established guaranteed an international prestige which Bulgaria has never experienced throughout its 1,000 years of existence.

Distortions such as the current ones are likely to affect the development of any society whatsoever. [passage indistinct]

To the credit of the BCP it is necessary to point out that the struggle against Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime did not begin in 1989, but has been waged throughout the period of his personal power. This struggle, precisely, forced the regime to search for real solutions to the urgent, crucial problems. It forced the regime to give up some of its megalomaniac ideas and concepts. It is a well-known fact that many Communists had to pay dearly for their principled attitudes and honesty. The great truth is that the clique around the former general secretary, when it saw its positions threatened, was ready to attack with the most brutal methods of terror which [words indistinct]. The members of the clique may have succeeded had they not been stopped in a timely manner by the principle-minded and active positions of the healthy forces within the party leadership.

Those BCP leaders who directly confronted the authoritarian regime, and also our entire party, have earned credit for this. [passage indistinct]

We are well aware that various social forces and individual citizens actively opposed the system and we shall duly pay tribute to them.

The awareness of responsibility requires that the past be truthfully analyzed so as to draw the necessary conclusions. By clearly stating its responsibility, our party is obliged to devote all its efforts to the prevention of relapses into authoritarian power, to the prevention of canonizing individual ideological views and postulates. The BCP guarantees that it will establish modern, democratic mechanisms within the party ranks that should virtually exclude such distortions.

In the first place and above all, we must establish a new democratic, political system that should promote not the most convenient, but the most talented and authoritative party, state, and public figures, and leaders.

The plenum held on 10 November 1989 was an event in the party's life which has to be analyzed from now on. The period of a little over 2 months that has elapsed since then is rather short, but within that period a process began which can already be defined as irreversible.

Comrades, we are living in a truly unprecedented atmosphere today. We are facing a genuinely unprecedented upsurge of social awareness, a real liberation of the human individual, and the mass involvement of a broad strata of the population in political life. The most varied political forces have emerged on the scene. Never in Bulgaria's history were so many different opinions expressed as freely as today. Social discussions have never been as heated as today.

The BCP shall try to conform with the high standards of this political life. Dozens of functionaries were removed from the Politburo, from the BCP Central Committee, and from the leading party and state echelons. These people preferred to mind their selfish interests rather than devoting themseleves to the interests the party.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum held on 10 November 1989 marked an expanded program, a well-founded [words indistinct].

The Plenum held on 29 December 1989 most categorically confirmed the legitimate rights and liberties of all citizens who were [?repressed] in connection with the nationality question, and the plenum made it possible to develop a principled and lasting nationality policy.

The national roundtable discussions opened during the period under review. These debates represent a dialogue of all social forces. At the initiative of the BCP, crucial legislative changes were proposed to the National Assembly which should essentially guarantee the development of a civic society and a law-governed state. We are expecting important reforms in virtually all spheres

of our social life and they should rescue Bulgaria from the situation of crisis. We should point out that the majority of initiatives for reforms, in which all our public is duly participating, were adopted by our party. [partially indistinct passage which refers to the ideas of different political forces participating in roundtable talks]

Let us cite only some facts: Certain political forces are calling for the immediate dismantling of the established structures, for the elimination of certain institutions, for the resignation of political and state organs, for renouncing socialism, for the domination of [?market] economy, and as some of their ideologues say, the [word indistinct] of the so-called democratic socialism.

All this means disregarding the profound structural changes which occurred in our country over the last 4 decades. No one wants to reveal what this means for our people. If such measures were adopted we would not be able to prevent social upheavals, we would not be able to avoid mass unemployment, [words indistinct] In addition to this, this variety was already, so to say applied, [?over 50 years] and the results are well known.

Our economic circles within the party and a major part of the citizens support another idea. They are suggesting [word indistinct] stabilization measures, and think that by tightening our belts in the first place we should improve the economic situation. They urge us to consolidate party and state discipline in a firm way, to consistently implement party decisions, to apply law and order, so as to be masters of the situation.

This would mean solving the problems by administrative methods. [words indistinct] However, should this platform prevail, we would be disappointed. No, comrades, it is our profound conviction that the fundamental revolutionary renewal of the comprehensive sociopolitical system on the basis of socialism as an objective reality does not solely depend on the will of one or another political force [words indistinct]. The future belongs to a democratic society, based on a plurality of interests, a society united by patriotic citizens who are serving the interests of the country and the future generations. It is our conviction that only one party, namely the BCP, can lead the country along this path.

This is not only a political statement. The BCP is the largest and most efficiently organized mass political force in the country, it has the greatest prestige among the people. It possesses the most highly qualified and educated cadre potential. The BCP has a platform, it has the will and capacity of transforming society. Following 10 November 1989, the People's Republic of Bulgaria embarked upon an original path of national renewal which was initiated by the BCP. Last, but not least, no other political force in our country is as closely linked to the working people as the BCP has been throughout its entire existence.

In order to cope with its task, the BCP should [words indistinct], it should conduct a policy which conforms to the needs of the present stage of development.

Comrades, [words indistinct]. The 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress urges all Communists in the country and all generations to understand that any underestimation of the requirement for the party's renewal is likely to induce undesirable consequences, such as those the communist parties of certain other socialist countries were subjected to.

Regardless of some people's opinions, all people in our country should be aware that the Communist Party is the most numerous and most active force in Bulgaria's public life. It is logical and legitimate that not only the party, but also the national [word indistinct] should be consolidated. Bulgaria's peaceful future depends upon this congress, upon our BCP Congress. [indistinct passage on BCP renewal]

The party is (?alone), but it has not lost its self-confidence. Loyal to its social mission, the party is transforming itself before our eyes. This was confirmed at the precongress accountability- election conferences. Only a party which is firmly resolved to conduct society toward a democratic and humane socialism can analyze and denounce its past in such a categorical manner and courageously look at its future.

Despite the current difficulties, a hope is illuminating us all. It is the hope and will to achieve democracy. This hope divides the Communists according to their conscience today, it prompts new ideas and currents, it confronts new ideas with those of the past. This aspiration is the source of a new situation within the party, it prompted the dispute between those who cannot, or are unwilling to, change and those who are searching for change. Courageous stands and independent positions have emerged within the party as a result of this dispute.

We should point out that the party's renewal has already started along with the decisions of the BCP Central Committee plenums following 10 November 1989, and during the precongress accountability-election campaign. This campaign proceeded in a dynamic, difficult, and controversial atmosphere. Such a stormy, active, and offensive accountability-election campaign has hardly ever been conducted in our party's history. There were no indifferent people, no party members who stood aside in this campaign.

We can declare with sincere satisfaction to this congress that the support and approval for the party line on a radical reform of its policy and its ideas was the characteristic feature of the precongress discussions conducted in the primary party organizations and at municipal party conferences.

Everything shows that the overwhelming majority of the participants in party conferences thinks that these conferences should be prepared and proceed in a spirit of true democracy. [passage indistinct on issues discussed at local party conferences]

Criticism against the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat was voiced at some local party conferences. The sharpest critical remarks were addressed against the sluggishness in connection with implementing changes, and especially in connection with purging from the party elements who have disgraced themselves. [passage indistinct] This created the opportunity for certain people to unjustifiably attack the party as a whole. We should point out, along with this, that serious shortcomings also characterized the meetings of primary party organizations and municipal conferences. One of them was the insufficient self- criticism and the unwillingness, or inability, of some local cadres to assess their own personal contribution and their own responsibility related to shortcomings. [words indistinct]

The accountability-election campaign implemented one of the most important requirements for democratization, namely the renewal of the party cadres. Nearly half of the secretaries in primary party organizations were newly elected. This percentage was particularly high in the Burgas Oblast, where it is 90 percent. The percentage is also high in Plovdiv Oblast and in [placename indistinct]. Considerable changes also took place in the municipal BCP committees. [words indistinct]

The municipal party conferences in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, and other places postponed the election of party leading bodies until the post-congress period. The purpose is to promote well-trained, honest cadres with high moral standards. The renewal of delegates is also considerable. Over 85 percent of those here are attending a party congress for the first time. An important fact is that approximately 44 percent of delegates are directly engaged in material production.

As to the engineering-technical intelligentsia, its share is approximately 34 percent, while 25 percent of the delegates are represent economic circles. This permits us to conclude that the Communists have sent new people to the congress, people who, with their stands, expressed their support for the new policy of renewal, a policy which the party and our society urgently require today. The fact that many of the elected delegates are leading economic figures and members of the engineering-technical intelligentsia shows that not only the Communists but the majority of the people are confident that party is capable of mapping out its active economic policy and of playing a leading role in rescuing the country from the economic and social crisis.

The aforementioned results justify our confidence that we at the congress will actively, constructively, and creatively pursue the initiated discussion on the renewal of our party and society.

The present congress and the documents it will adopt will not resolve all problems related to the party's renewal. [Words indistinct] In this context we think that we should more thoroughly dwell on certain basic factors related to the party's future.

Comrades, we Marxists have always been known for our profound interest in ideas. Marxism is the work of thinkers; it is the cause of fighters. Throughout its century-old history our party has produced splendid models of creative thinking. It has created very interesting and sometimes very advanced theories on the construction of a progressive society, such as socialism.

Unfortunately, our theoretical views on the party and society are permeated by [word indistinct], dogmatism, and [word indistinct]. [Words indistinct] we are not incapable of reacting to the new phenomena and of meeting the challenge of our epoch. We are incapable of correctly interpreting the nature and interaction of social forces and of guaranteeing the correct methods and means of work.

The Stalinist model of developing Marxism is the main cause for this state of affairs. [passage indistinct]

The party must take reality into consideration. Nothing can be better for a political party than to aspire to power in the name of the well-being of man. It must be familiar with man's life and his [word indistinct] We are lagging behind a lot in precisely this aspect. Let us admit it. We even failed in this area. A new world of highly productive technologies, modern communications, social and demographic mobility, and new cultural [word indistinct] and possibilities developed around us. This was reflected only a little or not at all in our ideological-theoretical heritage. If we made certain attempts, they were mostly aimed at justifying [words indistinct]. We must decisively say that we need ideas that function not tomorrow but here and now. The new approach obliges us to admit the existence of pluralism in politics and culture, and be guided in our practical activity by the objective diversity of phenomena, processes, personalities, and group interests. We must understand that oppressing differences equals stagnation and that [words indistinct]. Relinquishing the [words indistinct] and disregard for the thought of other socialist theoretical leaders and opening toward the wealth of life are urgent tasks that must be implemented if we are to renew the party.

It follows that our renewed ideological-theoretical foundation will be based on two basic elements: on the ideological heritage of Marxism and the other progressive leftist movements, and on the study and theoretical analysis of the social practice that is in constant flux.

As a result we must have and will have the correct ideological reference points of renewal, that must be not only theoretically rich but also practically effective. Only by combining what we know with the new elements will

we be able to win over the mind and heart of the modern man for the cause of humane, democratic, and socialist Bulgaria.

The essence of our real vision of what the beginning of the construction of the renewed ideological-theoretical basis must be, was reflected in the Manifesto. You are all familiar with this document. However, it is only a draft. Nothing has been decided a priori. You, the congress delegates, are expected to provide new ideas and proposals that you will present on behalf of your voters. We must demonstrate activity and culture and make the first political document of our party an even more powerful and correct one.

However, we must also understand that our great efforts are only about to begin. We must construct a competitive and fruitful socialist model, with which we must express our sharp political positions. This process, comrades, will be ongoing. Furthermore, it must never stop. We do not need completed articles or [words indistinct] brilliant ideas, that in the final analysis end [words indistinct] The idea of forward movement is in the constant creativity of you all, the people of the party, and its theoreticians [words indistinct] all those who adhere to the implementation of the socialist idea in Bulgaria.

The great cause of socialism must be reflected in our political course along with all valuable achievements [words indistinct]. Only thus will we be able to develop a working and progressive ideological activity on a democratic basis, on which basis we shall move the entire society forward.

The new concepts and ideas do not mark the beginning of a new campaign. [passage indistinct]

Comrades, the democratization and the construction of a new organizational structure, and the development of a new model of its functioning are preconditions for totally renewing the party. First of all we must carry out a complete and final de-Stalinization. We must eliminate the distortions that we inherited in the practice and organization of our internal party life. The present organizational structure has already decayed. From being a means of giving purpose to party life and activity at a given stage, the party structure became an end in itself, an instrument that served the autocratic regime first of all. It is necessary for us to review the principle of party structure, considering democratic centralism as (?inappropriate) for modern democratic goals and the image of the party as a party of all the people that is being created. By relinquishing this principle we will be able to successfully dismantle the command-administrative organizational structure of the party, thus making the party an attractive social center of patriotic and progressive activity in our country.

The lessons of practical experience require a new postulate on the issue of [words indistinct]. Here there is something we must clarify. In recent years there were cases in which, by adopting decisions by an ostensible majority, a minority used to impose its will and power on the majority. I mean the principle of majority rule, which until now did not testify to the party's unity, but artificially concealed a split in the party. In a truly democratic party, decisions are not, as a rule, adopted simply by voting and by oppressing the weaker part, but by discussion [words indistinct] and consensus. There can be no doubt that if the party is to work effectively, and be a united organization, the minority must not serve as an obstacle to common action adopted on the basis of decisions adopted by the principle of the majority. At the same time the minority has every right to defend its position both in party life and through the mass media. It can seek the support of party members and prove the correctness of its position.

We propose the principle of democratic unity, based on pluralism of ideas and ideological trends, alternative variants in preparing decisions, democratic elections and the principle of a limited term for leading organs, the adoption of party decisions by majority, and the party's ability to actively implement decisions that have been adopted. We proposed this principle in the draft of the new party statute. It implements the idea of a new organization and [word indistinct] of the Communists in the primary organizations. We relinquish the idea of constructing relations exclusively on the basis of the vertical principle. As a democratic party, we attach greater importance to establishing horizontal links between the organizations. This presupposes the possibility of self- organization according to ideological trends, platforms, and associations, within the framework of the Manifesto and the BCP Statute, while preserving the party's organizational unity.

Let the principles of the party statutes, Comrades, become an important means of overcoming the administrative-command character of the party structure. Through them we shall expand and strengthen the independence [samostoyatelnosta] of the Communists and the primary party organizations. We are constructing an organizational unity based on self-organization and self-discipline, as well as on ideological conviction based on one single platform, formed along the road of ideological and creative pluralism.

The principle of democratic unity will help us to part with the harmful heritage of—quote—monolithic—unquote—unity around a single line, to which we had become accustomed. [Words indistinct] The alternative trends, platforms, and so forth are introducing a fresh spirit in seeking the truth, and they express different points of view. At the moment everything is boiling, and the initial confusion produced by this phenomenon is being increasingly replaced by the dismantling of (?the old patterns), the pluralism of ideas, and diversity of opinions.

All this is of exceptional value for our party. It will enrich its political culture and will elevate it to a higher place as a social and intellectual force, and will attract much wider strata of the Bulgarian people to itself.

Decentralization is another important tendency in democratizing internal party life and its ideological character. A significant part of party work will be implemented by the primary and power units of the party. Now as never before, the party needs powerful and autonomous party organizations, which are flexible in anything related to their structure and approach. The proposal to disband the primary party organizations in the work place generated one of the most heated debates during the accountability-election campaign. Many Communists think by doing this, we shall destroy the power of relations between the Communists in the party organizations, who now are united not by a common ideological basis, but also by common goals and interests in the sphere of their profession. We think that this problem is very important in party construction. It would be correct to resolve it by conducting a referendum among all Communists and all working people, while taking into consideration existing political and social factors, including the future Law on Parties.

The necessity of creating a new type of relations between lower and higher party organizations now acquires great importance. This is connected with replacing the single direction principle—from the top to the bottom, the purely formal and command-administrative relations—with democratic relations. The essential factor is to separate the legislative, executive, and control functions of the party. This can be achieved by strengthening the role of the financial-auditing commissions and the commissions on party ethics, by giving them the right to control both in anything related to all Communists and all party organs. We must develop democratic organs that will create guarantees of normal relations between the various types of party organs and organizations—higher, leading, executive, coordinating, auxiliary, control, organs and so forth. It is necessary to work out an appropriate mechanism of recalling [otzovavane] the members of leading party organs and revoking the plenary powers of delegates who have lost the confidence of the party members.

It is of exceptional importance to conduct the party activity in a new manner under the principles of glasnost and with new methods. The system of the class-party approach and assessment of phenomena on the basis of party activity have exhausted their possibilities. The party cannot determine the fate of the state, society, and its members on the basis of the decisions of its plenums, meetings, and congresses. It must implement its policy and program first of all through the activity of the Communists at their places of work and residences. Conducting dialogue and discussion and reaching consensus must become our basic principle. This style and method of work is impossible without studying, analyzing, and respecting the party and public opinion. This means that the party must base itself on the opinion of the Communists and all citizens, fully utilize the assessment and wisdom of the people and their life and political experience, and be fully aware of the views and ideas expressed at the collectives and among the population. Therefore, it is necessary to construct a new system of providing information about party activity. The party archives and current documents must be opened and free access to them must be ensured. Glasnost, broad and total glasnost of party decisions is as necessary as oxygen. The same applies to information about the aspirations of the party masses and the personal behavior and qualities of the leading cadres.

The party has nothing that must be concealed from the people. It is a part of the people's flesh. [applause]

Comrades, by democratizing the party we understand the practical implementation of the basic principle that all party power stems from and belongs to its members or their representatives, who are under a comprehensive and active control. Directly facing the people and the party ranks, the rank and file Communists and party functionaries, is one of the basic features of party renewal. The party must again acquire a human image. Returning to the people is our lofty goal and responsibility.

Now the party has 983,899 members, united in 31,150 primary party organizations. Different tendencies, platforms, and approaches have emerged. There are reformers, longing for rapid and radical renewal, those (?who do not want anything to change) [passage indistinct on different trends within the party] The third group is those who hesitate and doubt. (?There also are) those who both in the past and now have honestly and selflessly worked for Bulgaria's well-being. This is a significant part of the party members. There are also such members of the BCP that, by their actions and abuses, stained not only themselves but also the name of the party. The chameleons in this group are most dangerous both to the party and society. They adapt themselves to restructuring and are in the first line of the struggle for power within the party. There also are such party members who have joined for selfish reasons [words indistinct] The party must find the correct approach to all trends, help some, and be firm and irreconcilable toward others.

The issue of the party's social basis is related to this problem. It can renew itself only with the participation of all social strata and generations—from the revolutionary generation to the youngest one. In the future the party must be a modern party of democratic socialism. It must become a party of the people's working strata, a party of workers and peasants, representatives of the scientific, cultural, engineering-technical intelligentsia, and all those who share its goals and platform. Only a party with such a social approach can win the future. Only such a party can guarantee the alliance of labor and intellect under modern conditions, about which Marx dreamed.

Each of those strata must find its worthy place in the party structure and life, implement its creative potential, and satisfy its real interests.

We must devote more attention to the two generations that are at the opposite ends of the age spectrum. In future we shall also rely on the experience and support of the veterans of the revolution and of labor. [Omitted passage on the merits of veteran party members] Unfortunately, many of their ideals were violated [words indistinct] Albeit painfully, our revolutionary generation must understand and support precisely the revolutionary and profound party renewal, including perhaps even the possibility of changing its name. [applause]

Without this renewal, the ideal to which many party members devoted their life and work is at the peril of completely disappearing from our political scene. Those who criticize renewal and are dissatisfied with it must admit that the party does retreat from its positions but is consistently conducting the measures related to restoring and renewing the socialist ideal under modern conditions. [applause]

The youth is the other generation I want to talk about. Without the fresh political blood of the younger generation the party has no future. This imposes even more the necessity of returning to one of the most valuable Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions—the care for the development of every young party member. Now the youth's courage, fighting spirit, professional preparation, competence, and moral purity are a primary concern of the party. The youth must be given a green light for their actions and [word indistinct]. It is especially important for the party that here, at the congress, the young generation begin to believe in the party's new course and obtain a vote of confidence by having youth elected to the higher party organs. [applause]

Comrades, the necessity of working out a new ethical model of work acquires priority. This must be a model of relations based on the highest human virtues and values. Only a morally purified party can restore both the confidence of the people and the confidence of its members. Conducting an uncompromising struggle against corruption of certain party members—most of all in leading circles—against the abuse of official positions, illegality and injustice, is the most secure road in overcoming the crisis of confidence.

The party must immediately and without hesitation disassociate itself from people who have stained or are staining its name. [applause]

A plenum of the BCP Central Committee has already expelled Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov. In our party there is also no place for Grisha Filipov, Yaroslav Radev, Atanas Maleev [applause], Nikola Stefanov, Georgi Dzhagarov, Mircho Spasov, Dimitur Naydenov, Vasil Tsanov Vasilev, Stamo Kerezov, Emil Khristov, Petko Danchev, Veselin Yosifov, Khristo Ruskov, Angel Talev and others [applause], whose careers, privileges, and life were constructed by violating laws and morality and crushing human destinies and ideals. As long as those people continue to be party members we will not have the right to say that we are a new, purified, reborn, and restored party. [applause]

It is clear, Comrades, that the purification of the party cannot take place only from the top. We desperately need the decisive and bold position and actions of all party organizations and committees. We must firmly and categorically declare that the party is getting rid of those who have stained its name, however to its honest and sincere members the party will further and always be careful and attentive. [applause]

It is also necessary that we firmly declare that by purifying itself the BCP will never allow outside forces to create the atmosphere of a witch hunt in the party ranks.

Renewing the party and making it show its face to the people are processes that are directly related to the issue of its cadres. Our cadre policy must agree with the party's new character and goals. The present model of the cadre policy reproduces the administrative-command style of leadership and interference in social life. The party functionaries are subjected to the most powerful winds of the democratic renewal. This applies first of all to the payroll members of the party apparatus. In the party apparatus, as we are accustomed to calling it, there also are opponents of renewal. However, there also are many who adhere to renewal. In our society we must differentiate the party cadres on the basis of one principle only: Do they support renewal? Do they support it merely as a banner or also as a thought, position, and style of work and [word indistinct]?

We Comrades, are totally and finally relinquishing the insolvent claims of party exclusivity. We are not made of some special material, as some used to say. We are simple people. Repealing the constitutionally based role of the party in society for us was simultaneously also an act of relinquishing all forms of privileges enjoyed by the party members and figures vis-a-vis the citizens of our country. We need now a simple [words indistinct] and high moral. Our determination to part forever with the nomenclatura system acquires priority now. This is not a system that can provide the cadres that the party needs now, regardless of the fact that this position could affect many of us. This system is not only one of the characteristics but also one of the attributes of the [word indistinct] type of party.

The cadre crisis in the party that was created with the assistance of the nomenclatura as a system is one of the worst legacies of Todor Zhivkov's cadre regime. With its negative qualities, monopoly, [words indistinct] the nomenclatura system corrupted and destroyed many cadres. They became used to looking only upward to the leader, and were convinced that no matter how many mistakes they made, and even if they were incompetent, as long as they were in the nomenclatura there would always be a place for them in the leading elite, while their wages and privileges were preserved. [applause]

This hurts our present development system, it sets up possible failures and mistakes in the cadre policy, because the nomenclatura is a list of a limited number of people, who are detached from life and local collectives. Therefore, the leadership actually rotates the same people in various posts. We must admit that such mistakes also were allowed after 10 November 1989, even if the instances were few. For example, such a mistake was the promotion of Comrade Petko Danev to candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the BCP Varna Oblast Committee. [applause] Later on he was not even elected by the Communists as a delegate to the congress.

The fundamental side of the issue is in the fact that a revolutionary change is needed in the very premise of the cadre issue. Every party, every social system needs and will need professional functionaries, payroll apparatus, and highly qualified experts and assistants. However, we need a system for the normal growth of cadres at the collectives, where the public leaders at the various levels of our life emerge.

We must develop real processes—political, economic, cultural, and others—in which people are being selected who are capable of serving the country under the complex contemporary domestic and international conditions. [Words indistinct] The law of social selection is active in the democratic society toward which we aspire. It gives a green light to the capable and energetic ones, and those who have achieved authority and recognition and have asserted themselves in practical work. Only in this way can we form the cadre potential of the party and the country with people who are active, who have the initiative, who are closely connected with the working people and the population, ideologically convinced, active, democratically thinking, and highly professionally trained.

I would like to point out that many of the present payroll party workers fall into this category, because they answer to the new requirements and criteria. The payroll party workers must [words indistinct]. The issue of the party cadre policy was a part of the accountability-election campaign. The issue will continue to exist at the congress and after it. However, it is necessary to understand that the pace of resolving the issue is for the time being unsatisfactory. [words indistinct]

The fundamental principle of creating guarantees and of not allowing the emergence of autocratic power in the party is of primary importance to us. The rapid construction of the new structures and the assertion of democratic principles, the profound and comprehensive democratization of the party itself, are the primary guarantees for this. [passage indistinct] The formation of the leading party organs on the basis of alternatives and through direct and secret elections, as well as glasnost and control over the activity of every Communist and party forum, are guarantees for this. Those guarantees must be incorporated in the new BCP Statute. The congress must adopt the statute which is not only democratic, but also clear and categorical, so that it becomes a basic landmark in accelerating the renewal. [passage indistinct]

The socialist idea is an integral part of [words indistinct]. It has never been isolated within a single state. This can happen even less today, when the world is so open and (?mutually dependent). Our party was, is, and will be an organic part of the great socialist movement. However, the moment for reassessing our place has come. A moment for finding common and specific, national and international factors [words indistinct].

By adopting a new ideological-theoretical orientation and by beginning to conduct a political struggle by new mechanisms, we are opening the party toward a broad spectrum of leftist parties and movements in Europe. This position of theoretical concepts and practical approaches allows us to establish contacts and work together with many new partners. [passage indistinct] We shall become a party that really can construct democratic socialism in Bulgaria. We cannot allow ourselves to look through a window at what is happening in the street. We want to be in the front ranks of human progress. Therefore we need [words indistinct] partners and allies.

Not a single party or country can hope by itself to find the road for its development, let alone the road for the people's well-being and intellectual ascent. It is clear to everyone today that there is not a reserved place for our party in the community of the communist and socialist parties. Everything is changing virtually daily. New parties are emerging. The old parties are being reorganized or are even dying. Even the unification of parties from two states is no longer (?excluded). Under conditions of incredibly rapid changes, our party must be ready every day and every hour for new situations, contacts, and partners. Such is the reality and such is [words indistinct].

We will continue to work with the existing communist parties. We will not pull back even from those who call us revisionists [words indistinct]. We are prepared to talk in a calm and well-founded manner with each of those who are ready to do so. We want to discuss the common problems and difficulties and share [words indistinct] within the framework of the civilized international political dialogue [words indistinct] with internationalism and solidarity in the name of the common socialist goal.

The BCP's historical alliance with the CPSU is already confirmed. This alliance gives us confidence and power, because we have been collaborators in the experience of a 72-year long struggle for socialism. The most progressive phenomenon in the practice of Marxism today—perestroyka—was produced by Soviet scientific thought. It caused the renewal of socialism throughout the world. We are learning from the long Soviet experience and naturally we are taking into consideration our specific

conditions. Let me again stress: The alliance with the CPSU is also fatefully valued by us, and therefore from the bottom of our hearts we wish the USSR comrades new successes in perestroyka. [applause]

We naturally do not begin from scratch in this process of seeking a new place in the world system of the progressive left. Our party has old and firm traditions of cooperation with many communist and workers' parties, many socialist and social-democratic parties, and newly emerged progressive parties and movements, such as the Green movement, for example. However, this is no longer enough. This does not correspond with the new, real correlation of the political forces in the world and new requirements of human progress.

Our party, renewed by its new ideas and practices can fruitfully participate in all those organizational and united structures of the world socialist left, that are well known for the scope of their activity and the scale of their influence. I mean active relations and cooperation with the Socialist International and contacts with other leftist alliances and forums. I mean a completely new stage in the party's international activity—its main characteristic being a common struggle for asserting democratism, humanism, socialism, and progress throughout the world. [applause]

Those considerations certainly are rather unusual for many comrades. We know that many of them will not easily accept either common actions nor talks with the representative of those parties that until a short time ago some called social-revisionists, and in the more distant past, even social-(?fascists). However, as appropriate for real Marxists, let us look the truth in the eyes. The modern left has accumulated a rich experience, which our party could really utilize. This creates conditions of intensifying cooperation, especially with the European social democrats, on the basis of universal values.

Our renewed party has a chance to occupy a worthy place in the international political life, to work with partners from East and West, North and South. Let us not waste this historic opportunity. Let us keep abreast with the order of time and the requirements of the future.

Comrades, the party has no future if it does not take into consideration the everyday needs and troubles of the simple citizens. Those needs represent the main contents of its policy. It is obvious that their implementation requires an efficient, modern and stable economy. What is the situation in our country?

In the report to the plenum of 11 December 1989 we pointed out the exceptionally grave situation of the Bulgarian economy. We pointed out the causes and analyzed the problem of personal responsibility. Unfortunately, no essential change for the better is yet evident. Furthermore, we witness a tendency of decreasing production, which threatens our economic development. The danger of disintegration of our economic relations is very real. Many industrial and agricultural branches are functioning far bellow their production capacities. The unrhythmical supply of materials, energy, the lack of plan indices, and unsigned contracts with consumers and suppliers are pointed out as the causes of this situation. We also think that the chaotic situation in many enterprises is one of the main causes. In those enterprises the production activity has been replaced by the stormy passions of the economic and political struggle. The government is also guilty of the present economic situation. At the same time it would be unjust if we neglect to point out that all those forces that decided that the easiest way of acquiring authority is to press the government against the wall with actions that push the country toward an economic catastrophe have also contributed to the deterioration of the economic situation. We cannot but mention the inertia with which the party and its economic specialists reacted to the challenge of the economic crisis. Protracting and delaying the working out of a project of a radical economic reform and the plan of overcoming the crisis is a serious, very serious act. We accept the criticism addressed at us by many party organizations as well- founded. We suggest that the congress declare the tasks in this sphere to be priority tasks, while the party urges its economic specialists and its representatives in the government and the National Assembly to make most decisive efforts in this direction.

Comrades, we do not claim a monopoly in finding a way to overcome the economic crisis.

We believe that the gravity of the situation requires united efforts, it requires a national consensus on the question of how to halt the further decline toward economic disaster, and how to establish the foundations of a national economy, capable of guaranteeing material prosperity and social welfare for all Bulgarian citizens.

A program on overcoming the crisis and safeguarding the social interests of the working people is needed. It should be done on the basis of broad discussions and with the approval of various sociopolitical forces and with nationwide consensus. Along with the establishment of such a program, we should begin to implement radical economic reform for the creation of a socially oriented model of a market economy.

The main issue of radical economic reform is the question of our approach to the market and to market economy. This is one of the issues which was most heavily burdened by dogmatic concepts and illusionary postulates. Practical life categorically disclaimed the essential antimarket concepts upon which the methods of economic management were built in Bulgaria and in the other socialist countries. National economies built on this basis proved relatively effective under the conditions of extensive growth, but they proved absolutely ineffective at the new stage of development in which mankind is involved today. These concepts can neither ensure competitiveness in relations with advanced producers on a worldwide scale, nor can they guarantee the accumulation of sufficient resources for solving the social problems in our countries.

However, not only the practical aspects of the question should be considered. From a theoretical point of view we are obliged to state that the antimarket delusions are part of the utopian, theoretical concepts of authoritarian socialism. They represent the theoretical basis on which the total, centralized system of state power in the economic sector, with its distorted production relations, its stifling bureaucratic methods, and the excessively inflated role of the state, was established.

In the long run, this system became the economic basis of the entire adminsitrative-bureaucratic superstructure of authoritarian socialism. The lack of developed market relations in our national economy is one of the most crucial, if not the most crucial, obstacles for the real integration of the Bulgarian national economy in the worldwide economic system, without which we cannot expect a real social, economic, and scientific-technical progress.

This requires the party to adopt an unmistakable and unequivocal stand on the market nature of the economy we intend to develop. The present historic era cannot accept any other economy, or at least cannot produce a prosperous economy, as long as we do not resolutely adopt the stand of objective realities.

Comrades, this is not an ideological compromise. This is a conclusion which we, as Marxists, are obliged to draw. The basic trends of a radical economic reform stem logically from this conclusion. The attitude toward property, and especially the establishment of equal rights for different forms of ownership, the selection of instruments for influencing the market, the concepts about the role of the state in economic life—these are the aforementioned basic trends. The categoric recognition of the market nature of our economy does not signify and cannot signify that we have adopted a capitalist trend of development. Market economy and market relations are not the monopoly of capitalism. Practical experience shows that even under the conditions of market economy it is possible to pursue a policy guaranteeing more social justice and the protection of the working people's interests.

It is precisely this coordination of market principles with the principles of social justice and social welfare that we consider as one of the main features of the socialist market model. The other characteristic of this model is the active role assigned to the state in regulating economic life, at an appropriate level, to maintain the basic national economic proportions and to guide economic development in accordance with the chosen social, market, and technological priorities.

This socially oriented model of market economy will include all forms of ownership on an equal basis. An important role is assigned to public property in this respect. This includes state property, municipal, cooperative, and mixed property. This role, however, can no longer be based on privileges, provided by administrative methods, as was the case in the past. Under the present conditions all forms of ownership must freely compete. Through this free competition each form of ownership may prove its real advantages and the advantages can only be confirmed on the basis of lasting effectiveness and labor productivity, in the long run.

We realize that transition to market economy is a difficult and even painful process which has its economic and social price. Debates on this subject are under way in our country. People are discussing the alternative approaches to this transition and to the question, whether we should adopt a gradual, or a drastic approach, which some people even define as shock therapy. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages. However, it is quite clear that the drastic transition requires a higher social price, which we, as a society, would be expected to pay within a relatively short period of time.

The selection of an alternative is of great importance to our entire nation. This decision is so important that it cannot be adopted by one, or by even several parties and social forces. It should be adopted following an objective and sober evaluation of the expected effects and social consequences, and it should be accepted by the people. Only a nationwide consensus on the basic trends of the economic reform and on the rate of speed and stages of its implementation can guarantee implementation of this reform in an atmosphere of social peace and political stability. To reach this consensus, we must clearly and unequivocally explain the alternatives to the people and we should make a final choice by applying all accessible forms of social dialogue and by consulting the people.

The party shall adopt its final stand on the problems of economic reform on this basis alone. It is our conviction that the development of a concept of economic reform should take place in an atmosphere of total openness, with the participation of the greatest possible number of competent experts and specialists, and after obligatory consultations with other East European countries who have embarked along the path of reforms. It is necessary to assess the worldwide achievements in this respect. Manifestations of pluralism may be encouraged in preparing the concept. The publication of 2, or 3, scientifically based alternative proposals on the economic reform should be submitted for detailed discussion at the National Assembly.

A referendum on this issue could also be conducted. We consider it necessary to state that industrialization, which is one of the undeniable achievements of our development, was attained at the expense of the agricultural sector. Unfortunately, this was the path we had to follow in accordance with the bureaucratic model of socialism. The process proved totally different from similar processes in developed countries, where considerable financial resources were focused on agriculture, while the increased labor productivity in this sector contributed to accumulating resources for the industrial branches.

Based on the idolization of the so-called structure-determining industrial sector, agriculture was assigned a second-rate role in the Bulgarian economy. The results are evident: rural areas of Bulgaria were ruined and depopulated. Agriculture production constantly decreased. The shortage of agricultural goods shows that the model of the recent past was ineffective.

In our opinion, the only way to overcome this situation is to give the land to those who are cultivating it. The cooperative movement in our rural areas is based on firm traditions. We are convinced that it has a promising future, as long as the gross administrative-command methods and approach are eliminated.

Farmers themselves should make the decisions on the emergence of agricultural cooperatives and on the establishment of family farming groups. Increasing investment in agricultural means increasing the total amount of investments. As a result of the specific nature of agriculture, we may also envisage long-term subsidies to solve the problem of food supplies and to establish a solid base for the rest of our economic sectors [word indistinct]. We may also consider searching for cooperation with leading agro-industrial companies in other countries to establish competitive production units.

Naturally, the introduction of a socially oriented market economy should by no means be considered as a way to heal all the social evils which accompanied the Bulgarian economy in the recent past.

The implementation of radical economic reform shall be objectively connected with several difficulties, because the national economy represents a major factor of inertia. We should not expect the introduction of market mechanisms to eliminate the negative trends in our national economy like a magic wand. We should not delay the establishment of market economy even for a moment while we continue to observe the requirements for a consistent, gradual, offensive, and uninterrupted approach.

It shall presumably become necessary to determine a specific period of transition, during which elements of the former system of economic management and the structures of the newly created market economy are expected to coexist. The parallel existence of two types of structures may result in the emergence of certain conflicts, that should be overcome not by relapses in[to] administrative-command elements, not by relapses into the past, but only through progress.

The crisis situation which has affected our economy and the requirement of our integration with worldwide economy urgently and inevitably demand our transition to a market economy. We simply have no other alternative.

This is why the party extends its hand to all those who cherish Bulgaria's future. The rescue of the Bulgarian economy from the crisis should be a common cause. No decrees, or instructions from the top, nor attempts to undermine discipline from the bottom should be allowed. No interruptions of the production process through strikes and by understandable, but hardly practical, demands for higher wages, but patriotic efforts, joint collective actions, inspired by a sense of responsibility, are required at this stage. Let us do everything within our power to keep the economic ship afloat. The course is clear. We should realize that we have no other alternative than to roll up our sleeves and keep rowing, all of us in the same direction, so that we may reach the rescuing shore of economic stability and prosperity together.

Comrades, if our ship begins sinking, neither forces from abroad, nor our own efforts would be able to rescue it without provoking social unrest and disasters.

Comrades, the construction of a fully effective economy as the party's goal is indissolubly linked to preserving the social achievements of the Bulgarian citizens and expanding their basic assets. As a party of the working people, of the alliance between workers and intellectuals, our party should also become a party of social welfare and social justice. No romantic delusions and promises about gardens of Eden in the distant future, but concentration on urgent topical demands, on man's present issues and problems, are required today, and this should be the basic trend of our party's social policy. Entirely devoted to man's needs, this policy should optimally reduce all disadvantages stemming from the transition to market economy. The party is in favor of consistently observing and applying the principles of social justice, in favor of consistently applying the policy of social welfare and of providing social assets for the socially weak strata in our country, such as those who are temporarily or permanently incapacitated, and for children and adolescents, in particular. We support a differentiated approach to social problems and the democratization of social policy. Certain especially crucial issues, such as problems in housing policy, health care, and the improvement of the environment require immediate action.

As for housing policy, we should observe an equal economic and legal order for all forms of housing construction. We should radically alter the methods of distributing housing units It should become a really just distribution, while all attempts to evade legal methods should be eliminated. The housing needs of newlyweds and large families should be satisfied on a priority basis, and construction resources should be focused on social construction needs, while real competition among building companies should be encouraged.

As for health care, it is high time to modernize and humanize medical care. Favorable conditions, including financial prerequisites, should be created to improve relations between health institutions and patients. Greater attention should be paid to preventive activities in the health sector and to the development of a healthy way of life.

We are particularly concerned about the ecological situation in our country. This is precisely why the party resolutely supports the improvement of environmental protection. We are in favor of cooperation among all social forces in developing and implementing an effective ecological policy. In this sector we are ready immediately to cooperate with all formal and informal parties and social organizations. We are ready to conduct different forms of expert analyses and scientific research for the sole purpose of preserving the beauties and natural resources of our motherland.

Comrades, who should be authorized to initiate the implementation of radical economic reforms, to ensure the social protection of Bulgarian citizens, and to guarantee social justice? There is no doubt that only a government of national consensus is capable of doing so. It should be established on a broad basis with the participation of all significant sociopolitical forces.

We think that the establishment of such a government shall permit us to achieve progress in the following two directions: It shall enable us to start with the implementation of the economic reform and it will make it possible to establish a government capable of immediately engaging in one of its main tasks, namely the task of rescuing Bulgaria from the crisis.

For the sake of this noble goal, let us relinquish all petty political passions and skirmishes. Bulgaria has its own historic chance that should not be missed.

Comrades, we are striving for a political system expected to embody the people's power. This means that we should adopt and base our actions firmly on our own democratic traditions of our national revival, that we should implement the principle of people's sovereignty, that we should establish our state on the basis of diversified mechanisms likely to express the people's will. This actually means adopting a totally new view of the organization of power, and above all, rejecting the monopoly of any social and political force whatsoever.

Only the people's will, expressed through free elections, grants or removes power to and from a party or a coalition of parties. By renouncing the claim on our leading role in society, which was granted to us by the Constitution, we accomplished the first necessary step in this direction. We communists are resolved wholeheartedly to pursue the path of the people's confidence.

We should really proceed to an authentic parliamentary democracy, and a parliamentary system relying on worldwide democratic experience should be established. We adhere to the principle of division of power, we support the absolute supremacy of the National Assembly, which is the nationwide representative organ in charge of distributing the competences of the other organs of power, competences which are stemming from the parliamentary will. We propose that power should be implemented through organs based on a strict division of competences, namely the legislative, executive, and judicial competences. These organs should work under public control. In our opinion, parliamentary democracy should include the necessary element of opportunties for the direct expression of the people's will on crucially important issues. No restrictions of political rights and liberties whatsoever should be admitted. The rights and liberties should be based on the goals and principles of the constitutional sytem.

The establishment of true people's power requires particular attention to local government, to the development of municipal self-government. Democratic socialism means a high degree of autonomy for local self-government organs. This presupposes consolidation of municipal government power, as well as democratic control exercised by the increasing involvement of citizens in such activities. One of the basic conclusions imposed today is that democratization of the People's Republic of Bulgaria requires the creation and functioning of a vital civic society. It began to develop through the sponataneous eruption of our people's democratic aspirations, which, as we hope, shall be embodied in a democratic and original political creativity. We should take advantage of these opportunities in order to build a state which serves the civic society, and not a state like that of the past which oppressed and virtually destroyed this society.

We are ready to establish relations of partnership and cooperation with the basic social structures. In doing so we shall respect their political and organizational independence. We declare ourselves in favor of people freely associating in clubs, movements, and unions, in contact groups, and societies, including alternative groups.

We should comprehensively encourage manifestations of civic initiatives and we should strive for cooperation with civic structures, we should develop the capacity to exert cultural influence on them in the spirit of the ideas and values of socialism.

Concerning the Armed Forces and the law enforcement organs, the BCP bases itself on the principle that law and order are necessary and on the postulates and tasks of restructuring, as well as on the vital interests of the party and state. The party is in favor of placing the Army and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the control of the National Assembly. It is in favor of building the Bulgarian People's Army in conformity with the principles and postulates of reasonable and reliable sufficiency in defense. The BCP advocates the disbanding of political organs and party organizations in the Armed Forces and in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The party shall further contribute to enhancing the role of the Armed Forces and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs as stabilizing factors in society and as guarantors of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for increasing the prestige of serving in these institutions.

In the spirit of the current trends we should fundamentally review the postulate on the class nature of the institutions of power. Political institutions and the state

should be placed at the service of all citizens. The humanitarian goals of the political system should be consolidated. Such a system shall bring us closer to the ideal of a society in which the free development of every individual is a prerequisite for the free development of the whole community. In accordance with the trend toward comprehensive democracy, the basic party decisions following 10 November 1989 determined the separation between party and state.

As is known, as a result of the specific political situation, I was obliged simultaneously to exercise the function of general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and of State Council chairman. However, this necessity is already becoming meaningless, and things should return to normal. For this reason I propose that the Congress should decide that one and the same individual not be the leader of the party and the state at the same time.

Comrades, the requirement of introducing a pluralistic, really effective multiparty system is an important lesson we learned from our historical experience. This system should reflect the diversity and variety of social, group, professional, and other interests in contemporary Bulgaria.

It is quite logical that these interests and their respective philosophical, economic, and political views could not coincide. It is normal that these forces should have disputes, that they should compete with each other under the conditions of parliamentary democracy. From this point of view, we think that the existence of an opposition is natural and necessary for the construction of a future political order and for the party itself, for its preservation as a political organization. Our party cannot normally develop without competitors. It is in the interest of the party itself that it should function within the framework of a constitutional system, that should include the existence of a viable political opposition.

A new situation promptly emerged following 10 November 1989: It was a situation under which the opportunities for an active role of the existing political and social organizations and their capacities of independent political activities in solving the nationwide problems drastically increased.

Dozens of new sociopolitical associations and organizations also emerged, many of which proclaimed themselves as parties. In accordance with a respective law which is expected to be adopted, the criteria for the official existence and functioning of political parties shall be adopted. As soon as this happens, and as soon as these organizations submit their statutes, programs, and platforms to society, our party shall be in a position to determine its own political approach to them.

Nevertheless, at this party congress we would like to share a few basic considerations on the relations among parties in Bulgaria on the eve of a truly democratic era in our history.

We think that the total activities of every party should proceed within the framework of the Constitution and that the competent state power organs should not permit any abuses whatsoever in this respect.

Our reinvigorated party principally encourages the requirement for a the existence of a political opposition and along with this, it openly declares that it is ready to regard all new party formations as partners and allies in the struggle for the democratization and renewal of our society. The BCP is ready to join a coalition with any of these parties for the implementation of positive national goals and for the accomplishment of specific tasks to rescue Bulgaria from the current crisis.

Along with the visible differences, the recent roundtable dialogue with the opposition forces presented many possible important points of contact, around which we might unite and work for social consensus along the path of restructuring. We are all in favor of crucial changes in Bulgarian society, we all endorse guarantees for the irreversibility of the democratic process, for equal rights granted to all forms of ownership, for extensive civil rights and intellectual development.

The BCP, as you can see, refrains from conducting a political campaign against any other party in our country. It listens in a tolerant and self-critical spirit of respect to the opinions of the partners and the wishes addressed to it. However, the party cannot remain indifferent toward conscious efforts to destabilize the country, kindle anticommunism, create racist and extremist moods, promote nationalism, and attempts against the country's sovereignty and integrity. [applause] The party will not remain indifferent toward actions that threaten the personal security of the people because of their convictions, or political or religious affiliation. The party will wage an uncompromising political struggle against all similar antidemocratic manifestations, and when illegal actions are involved, whether on the part of its members or on the part of representatives of other parties, the party will plead for immediate social and penal sanctions, as envisaged by the Constitution. [applause]

The party does not accept the tactics of ultimatums and blackmail. It categorically renounced violence as a political method. It condemned and sentenced people guilty of such actions in the past. However, it also categorically rejected attempts to talk to it from such positions. [applause]

Let me stress once again that we greet those new parties and public figures, who adhere to renewal and to the ethic and civilized political process. We are prepared to work together with them and construct an exemplary political system, capable of achieving equilibrium and stability and guaranteeing national security, social and personal safety to all citizens, and the unity of the Bulgarian nation. [applause]

We highly value cooperation with the existing authoritative parties and sociopolitical organizations, and

express to them gratitude for our cooperation until now. The BCP seeks to steadily strengthen the alliance with the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]. [applause] This alliance has always had an important role in Bulgarian history, especially in the struggle against fascism and the construction of the new society. Fully overcoming the deformations in our relations, created in the period of the autocratic regime, our cooperation must be constructed and strengthened on the basis of total equality in the name of the democratic and humane development of society, and for strengthening the government of the working people, workers, peasants, intelligentsia, and other strata. [applause]

We express without any reservations our party's positive attitude toward the Fatherland Front. As in the past the Fatherland Front is now vitally necessary for our motherland. In the name of the lofty national interests, and while conducting fundamental democratic restructuring it will turn into an even broader national movement of patriotic unity that unites millions of citizens in its ranks. The Fatherland Front is actively participating in the country's political and cultural life and in the struggle for satisfying the vital interests of the population.

Many other major and mass public organizations and movements exist in our country. The Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Democratic Women's Movement, and so forth. The BCP supports the new processes in those organizations and is developing a new and active attitude toward those public forces on the basis of fully respecting their independence and self-management. On this basis the party will seek new forms and means of common work and united actions with those organizations and movements. The party will activate its members' cooperation with those organizations.

Comrades, scientific socialism was created by man's well-known striving for freedom, by humanism, and by the Renaissance. It became the support of millions of people and gave the world fighters and martyrs, worthy of being in the Pantheon of the most noted political figures. Our movement has a dramatic history, which is an organic part of mankind's intellectual development. We are the agents of mankind's brightest ideals. True, until now we were not able to implement them, however, precisely because of this we are renewing ourselves, so that we can finally accomplish our original mission.

Marxism and our party are not a religion or a church institution. We are not shocked by the existence of doubt and disagreement and the inability to find a solution to all problems of man and society. We are satisfied with the fact that we can create, and seek intellectual progress and development. The society of the democratic socialism needs new intellectual horizons and richer and more fruitful intellectual life. If we do not contribute to the creation of such a new intellectual atmosphere in our country, the vacuum will be filled up by antihuman and individualistic trends, as well as by dangerous nationalistic and extremist ideals, that could lead society toward a new dead end street.

The main role of the party in the struggle for society's intellectual development is to give priority to universal values and freedoms. This means that we have to review the role of the class- party attitude toward the contemporary realities. We must take note of the deformations that this attitude is producing through incorrect interpretation in the fields of ethics, education, literature, art, and social awareness. Bulgaria's renewal cannot take place while the country is detached from the universal and civilized processes and the problems of asserting humane characteristics in modern society. While preserving and protecting our national characteristics and our rich and unique character we must not forget that our children and grandchildren will live in a new world. This world will depend on the resolution of global problems, including the problems of human rights and freedoms, peace and security, and the dangerous ecological catastrophe and economic destruction. The fate of everyone and everything will depend on resolving those problems.

Only a society based on the principles of humanism and human rights and freedoms can attract our citizens. It is precisely such a society that we offer Bulgaria, with the concept of democratic socialism. We must admit that until now caring for the individual was our party's Achilles' heel. We did not sufficiently deal with the issues of the Marxist theory of man, the social and personal psychology, ethics, and other behavior-related sciences. This is one of the reasons for the dehumanization of our movement and party policy. Of course, the bourgeois theoreticians and politicians also did not succeed in doing this. They were not able to overcome the alienation and dehumanization of life and production. However, they did not elevate the construction of humane society to the rank of a priority goal. We must do this. We are called upon to do this. However, we not only did not make a single step forward, but in certain aspects we even retreated. Our claims for constructing the new man proved to be Utopian. A new man cannot be constructed under conditions of regarding that man as a means of achieving some other, ostensibly higher goals. Today we state: Man is the highest asset of our policy. [applause].

Our renewed party of democratic socialism does not relinquish its own opinion and position on all issues of our people's intellectual development. On the contrary, we shall begin to create in a new manner our own party platform on this exceptionally important area of human life.

The party adheres to real freedom of artistic culture. Under conditions of the authoritarian regime repulsive attempts were made to turn it, first, into the creator and propagandist of the positive heroes, myths and concepts praising the successes of the system. For this purpose we accepted the crude prescription of what is permitted and

what is not. The theory of socialist realism was imposed as the only one that was beneficial to society and the intellect. This position did not in any way consider the viewers, readers, and listeners, and in essence aimed at achieving a total ideological-artistic manipulation.

Today the party is the initiator of a process of a fundamental and rapid reassessment of the artistic assets of the period of the authoritarian regime. The party seeks to destroy the bureaucratic supercentralization of culture, eliminating the primitive norms, and removing the prohibitions over certain themes, subjects, images, and ideas. The party will firmly support the free creative search, pluralism, and the profound and introspective use of our traditions and culture in life. I must point out that we add to those traditions everything valuable and humane that has been created outside the Bulgarian borders.

Developing science and education has a decisive importance in our people's future. It is obvious that if we do not come closer to the leading countries in the scientific-technological aspects, do not rapidly and effectively develop our own scientific potential, and do not create new educated and capable scientific-technical and executive cadres, Bulgaria is doomed to backwardness and national failure.

Therefore, the party proposes to immediately prepare an independent expert assessment of the reasons for the country's backwardness vis-a-vis the modern scientific-technical revolution, and the efficient and rapid roads of coming closer to the highly developed countries. Undoubtedly, one of the decisive conditions for this is to firmly begin to overcome the crisis in our educational system. About 50 percent of the workers and employees in our country, have only basic and even lower education. Some 50 percent! The party adheres to new quality, contents, forms, and methods of education, that would correspond to the requirements for democracy, humanity, and justice. We adhere to diversifying the future educational system through our new economic policy, by introducing new forms of self-administration and self-account, and market mechanisms in this area. We adhere to the deideologization of education. However, we adhere to and shall never relinquish the promotion of education in the spirit of patriotism and love for the motherland, our dear Bulgaria. [applause] We shall encourage by all means the study of the universal achievements and norms of behavior, and shall strive to involve the young generation with the ideals of universal progress.

Comrades, we received a very grave heritage in anything related to the ethnic issue. I mean an ideological unscrupulousness, utilitarian policy, and crude deformations and violence in social practice. As a result, the sincere aspirations of our people toward national unity, regardless of the ethnic or religious differences, were seriously undermined. As you know, we decisively denounced this policy. From now on we do not have the right to repeat old mistakes. We think that the unity of the Bulgarian nation depends on the strict respect for human rights and freedoms and human dignity, and on observing the legal order and the country's laws. Therefore, it is especially important to combine the national interests with the requirements of the international contacts and guarantee the peaceful development on the basis of the laws of democracy, territorial integrity and national originality, and active participation in the common European home and its Balkan aspect. Our people approach with a sense of responsibility and duty the solution of the difficult problems that we inherited from the past—the democratic dialogue within the framework of the Public Council on Discussing the National Issue. The result of this council's work was the declaration that was adopted unanimously by the National Assembly. Thus a stable foundation was created for the work of the commission on the ethnic issue, that was especially formed by the National Assembly.

Our country expects that out of this commission it will form a new policy on the ethnic issue, purged of ad hoc considerations and coordinated with the national interests.

However, there is another no less important factor for the unity of the Bulgarian nation—the economic factor. An economically prosperous state can be constructed only by the joint efforts of all citizens. All of them, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation, have a reason to enjoy the results of their work. A prosperous state produces fewer grounds for the emergence of social tensions, which often acquire ethnic or religious connotations. Finally, a modern and prosperous state is the center of attraction for all its citizens. Separatist ideas, that have been locally produced or imported, have difficulties asserting themselves in such a state. Therefore, let us offer a hand to one another. Let us make Bulgaria an economically strong, civilized, and law-governed state, worthy of its European future. This will be the firm foundation on which we shall construct the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

Comrades, the BCP Central Committee 10 November Plenum marked the beginning of changes also in our country's foreign policy. Deformations, inherent to the authoritarian-bureaucratic system also affected this sphere. I refer to arbitrary authoritarian decisions, incompetent interference in political and cadre issues, deception, and improvization. However, because of the specific characteristics of foreign policy, this sphere was less affected by deformations than was our domestic development. It is an indisputable fact that Bulgaria's foreign policy, even before the November plenum, was realistic and peace-loving. Our country made and is making a constructive contribution to the efforts to achieve detente, disarmament, and general improvement of international relations in the Balkans, Europe, and the world. Obviously today, with the radically changing situation, along with the renewal we must preserve the objectively justified continuity of positive factors, that have accumulated until now in international

relations. We also must recall that in recent years Bulgaria was placed in a position of alarming international isolation. Precisely from this point of view must we assess the foreign policy importance of the radical changes that began on 10 November 1989. Those changes revealed the road toward creating a new quality in our relations with other states. The decision of 29 December 1989 was an important step, that received a universal and clearly expressed recognition on the part of governments and public in Europe and the world.

The renewal in our country allows us to activate our participation in international contacts on the basis of the national interests and universal values, and reassess the priorities that must be formed on a democratic basis and placed above the party interests. This approach already is producing results. Our country left its state of isolation and asserts its worthy place in the new system of international relations, that is being formed first of all in Europe.

Bulgaria is a small country. We do not seek to conduct a global policy. We are an integral part of Europe, the European historical heritage, and Europe's moral, political, social, and cultural values. On the other hand our state is located in a region with a contradictory past, which has historical legacies of different natures. It is situated at the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, where serious military asymmetries are evident, that are unjustified under the present conditions. Concern for the security of the Bulgarian people in all its aspects—political, military, economic, social, humanitarian, and ecological—is at the foundation of Bulgaria's national interests. The prospective solution of this issue can be found today only in an all-European context. Therefore, we support the idea of creating an efficient system of security and cooperation in Europe, that will be of a new type. The political guarantees and the mutual dependence of economic interests will be the determining factors. We think that favorable conditions exist for an advance along the entire line of East-West relations. Those conditions are related to the striving to overcome Europe's division. Bulgaria, without any reservations, accepts the idea of the all-European home and will contribute to its construction.

Cooperation with the USSR and the other allied countries is a priority direction in our foreign policy. The Bulgarian-USSR summit talks in Moscow in December 1989 demonstrated the total support of the Soviet leadership for the course of democratic renewal followed by Bulgaria. There can be no doubt that, even now, our national security cannot be guaranteed without our participation in the Warsaw Pact and without preserving the bilateral treaties on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance with the USSR and the other allied states. We adhere to a stable, democratic, and voluntary alliance, able to recognize and guarantee the interests of all its members, and naturally, the interests of Bulgaria. Our participation in a fundamentally renewed, efficient and dynamic CEMA preserves its importance under the present reality.

The course of profound democratic reforms in Bulgaria enjoys general and clearly expressed international support. The attitude toward Bulgaria's steps to gain membership in GATT, the IMF, and the World Bank, is positive. The possibility of rapidly signing an agreement on economic and trade cooperation with the EEC is emerging. In Balkan policy, our goals remain to improve the climate in this region by steadily defending Bulgaria's national interests in accordance with the civilized principles and norms of equal and mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

We see the future of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans through the integration of all positive factors in the achievements of all Balkan states, utilizing the factors that have regional importance, and joining a broader European complex together with our neighbors. Loyal to the tradition of international solidarity, the Bulgarian Communists do not turn their backs on the dramatic problems of the developing world. They confirm their support for this world's struggle against neocolonial dependence and for relief from the burden of the foreign debts, as well as for the other just claims of the Nonaligned Movement.

Comrade delegates, our renewed party will soon face a very serious test. We shall participate in free and democratic elections that will decisively test our unity, our will for victory, and our ideas. We must clearly understand that the time of the administrative-command methods is over. The time of brilliant election victories is over. Those victories, previously achieved by the party apparatus, are already history. Soon our ability to conduct a political struggle will be tested. The ability of every Communist to convince, via the power of argument, facts, and intellect must be expressed. It will be necessary to work among the people and gain their confidence. For us the elections will be a test of the vitality of our ideas. We shall worthily struggle for their implementation. Our party will enter the election campaign as a renewed and purified party. Facing, with the other parties, the people in this struggle, we must declare that we adhere to elections without manipulations or petty ad hoc and narrow political intrigues. We shall decisively oppose any violations of constitutional freedoms and democracy in the election campaign. We shall defend equality among all competitors and struggle against ensuring privileges for some and oppressing other candidates. Our party must provide an example of correctness, loyalty, and morality in the election campaign. Let us be realistic: Under the new conditions there is no guarantee of success. However, we Communists have always been optimists. There is no other real and constructive position. Not one of us should be a passive observer in the political stage, especially during those difficult years of our development.

In the names of the millions who have devoted their lives and work to the motherland, we must walk the difficult road toward the real, democratic, and human socialism. The forthcoming elections are the first harsh test we will face. Regaining the people's confidence and restoring

their faith in socialism and justice is the key to success in elections. We must clearly and precisely announce that we aim primarily at constructing a democratic and human social system, in which there will be no hunger, misery, illiteracy, and social and national oppression. Those achievements of which we are proud were reached thanks to socialism.

Participating in the election campaign, we will have to clearly and precisely defend the society of the democratic socialism, in which there are equal possibilities of development. We shall seek an optimal combination of equality and freedom. Under pluralism of the forms of property, we shall create the most favorable conditions for productive and effective initiatives for all, conditions which will combine personal interests with the interests of society.

We shall increase the nation's well-being and wealth by stimulating the individual, the group, the collective, and by radically reforming the system of political, economic, and ideological relations. We shall decisively abolish the contradiction between words and deeds. We shall insist on achieving better order and discipline so we can produce more goods of higher quality. Constructing an economy of market character, and actively cooperating with the international economic and financial organizations, we shall create preconditions to overcome the crisis.

It is true that we allowed mistakes on our long and difficult road. It is true that self-appointed dictators and leaders and their actions undermined the confidence of the masses. However, in the election campaign we must say that it was the party that from the first moment devoted itself to the idea of freedom and releasing the labor and intellect from any oppression and exploitation. The party has never relinquished this principle. The very lives of tens and hundreds of thousands of rank and file party members are the best proof of this. The party has never betrayed or relinquished its people, despite all distortions and deformations. They, the people, our people, know this very well. It is precisely the party, armed with the theory of creative Marxism, inspired by the new political thinking and the ideas of universal progress, that is capable of drawing comprehensive lessons from the past and leading Bulgaria toward a qualitatively new level of democratic socialism. In the struggle to win the confidence of the people, we must consider the dynamics of world political processes. The rapid changes in Europe and the world affect the thinking of every citizen of our country. The thirst for change and the impatience with which they are anticipated increase the political tension and intensify social unrest. This means that we must hold free and democratic elections no later than May 1990. [applause]

Three months ahead of the elections we clearly and firmly declare: The BCP adheres to a government of national consensus, capable of leading the country out of the crisis. The BCP adheres to a socially oriented market economy. The BCP adheres to social security of every man. The BCP adheres to legal order and freedoms for all. The BCP adheres to the progress of culture, science, and education. The BCP adheres to peace and security, a world without nuclear weapons and wars. The BCP adheres to Bulgaria's joining the European home. The BCP adheres to democratic and socialist Bulgaria. [applause]

Those are historic goals. Our ideal is great. Our renewed party will march toward a worthy future in a worthy manner as a worthy party.

Thank you for your attention.

Foreign Ministry on Soviet Withdrawal, Travel

LD3001150290 Prague CTK in English 1414 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—One of the questions to be discussed during the visit of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to the FRG on February 1-2 will be the simplification of travelling and visa practice. Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky said this at a press conference on Czechoslovakia's foreign policy here today.

The possibilities of progress in this sphere were also discussed during the recent visit of Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis to Prague. The spokesman stressed, however, that neither in the case of the FRG nor of Italy can visa-free travel with Czechoslovakia be expected as both countries are bound by agreements in the framework of the European Economic Community that do not make this step possible.

Jiri Dienstbier is to pay a one-day visit to Sweden in the framework of the preparations of an official visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Sweden.

Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens is to arrive in Czechoslovakia on February 8 at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister. The signing of an agreement on resumption of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel is expected.

Foreign Ministry Press Department spokesman Jan Martinek said at the press conference that Czechoslovakia wants with this step, which confirms the new orientation of its foreign policy, to contribute to peace-building tendencies in the Middle East. Czechoslovakia is sending a team of experts to the seat of the Arab League in Tunisia to clarify the principles of Czechoslovak foreign policy in new conditions.

Lubos Dobrovsky said that the dates of a visit of Vaclav Havel to the Soviet Union and of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to Prague have not yet been specified.

He informed journalists that in the week from February 5 to 11, a group of experts of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union will meet in Prague for the second round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed on Czechoslovak territory since August 1968.

"We are convinced that this will be the final round of the talks that will create conditions for the signing of an inter-government agreement. We appeal for patience and tolerance of citizens who have endured the more than 20-year long stay of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory. We should demonstrate sufficient political culture so that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops may be carried out continuously. The first stage of the withdrawal, which will not be simple as regards the technical aspect, is to be finished, according to our proposal, on May 15, i.e. still before the elections."

Speaking about an article in today's Army Soviet daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that pointed to an alleged hastiness of the demand of the Czechoslovak side, he stated: "The Czechoslovak Government and representatives of the Czechoslovak Army are qualified enough to take into consideration the degree of danger in Europe." According to Czechoslovak experts, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops will favourably influence the talks on conventional weapons in Europe conducted in Vienna, Lubos Dobrovsky said.

He added that if the need arises, after the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, on the basis of a future agreement at the Vienna talks to deal with the question of deployment of a limited contingent of troops on some other territory, Czechoslovakia is ready to negotiate this question on the ground of the Warsaw Treaty, i.e. on a multilateral basis.

Czech Official on Disbanding Special Police

LD3001190790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Czech Interior Minister Antonin Hrazdira, speaking at a session of the Czech National Council's National Committees and Minorities Committee, stressed that the creation in 1970 of the special task force within the public security force and the purpose for its creation were connected with the views of the then political leadership on state management. Thus, in the form that we know it, there is no justification for it anymore and it has been disbanded.

Deputies supported the disbanding of this regiment and the idea of setting up a specialized public security college, which should only train new members of the public security corps; the misuse of its students for suppressing demonstrations must be excluded.

Defense Minister Views Army 'Today and Tomorrow'

AU3001120990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 90 p 8

[Report on interview with National Defense Minister Colonel General Miroslav Vacek by Igor Sirota; date and place not given: "The Army Today and Tomorrow; With Miroslav Vacek, Minister of National Defense, on the 'Term of Service,' Sales of Tanks, and Counterintelligence"]

[Text] Life in the green uniform—most men have lived this life—concerns each and every one of us. It concerns us whether our son, brother, or nephew will serve for 2 years, or whether his "term" will be somewhat shorter. It is everybody's concern how and what will be spent for defense purposes. We have discussed these and also other issues with Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense.

He replied to our questions with the frankness and military directness which are typical for him.

[Sirota] You have promised to acquaint our public with the draft of the new Czechoslovak military doctrine by the middle of January. You have not done so yet. Why?

[Vacek] I have had to change some of my plans. After a year of work, the doctrine was ready. However, the democratization process in our society has made it necessary to reassess it. Thus I must state that the Czechoslovak military doctrine is not quite ready yet. It will acquire its final form after the constitution is adopted.

[Sirota] Will the disarmament negotiations produce a further alleviation—that is, a reduction of our army's numerical strength?

[Vacek] It is to be expected that an agreement will be reached this year which should contribute toward a troop reduction both within the Warsaw Pact and in NATO. For the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] this should mean a reduction of approximately 60,000 soldiers, about 3,000 tanks, and almost 3,000 combat infantry vehicles, armored vehicles, and other technology. These figures indicate that it would be a great step.

[Sirota] For quite a number of people these figures are a matter of the future. But the soldiers in basic national service are more concerned about today, about cutting back the length of military service generally. This is a idea which would probably be supported by everybody. So why not by the Army?

[Vacek] True, military service does involve many difficulties. From the human point of view, I understand this. Still, we must not ignore the realities of the correlation of forces, both in Europe and in the world.

If I could comply with everybody's wishes, I would surely become most popular. However, as a minister who is responsible both for his own department and for the CSSR's adherence to its international military commitments, I cannot agree to such requests. The realistic thing today is to reduce the length of national service from 24 to 18 months, and to 9 months for the graduates of military academy departments.

[Sirota] Will you meet, at least halfway, the young people's demands for an alternative military service?

[Vacek] We do not want the young people to get into conflict with their conscience and the laws because of their political or religious convictions. Just to round out the picture: As far as I know, there was no such possibility at the time of the first republic [1918-38].

Just now the first necessary step is to change the Constitution and to amend the law on military service. Moreover, the alternative service must last roughly 50 percent longer than normal service, since otherwise it would be impossible to prevent speculation. But many other issues are also involved: Who will come up with clothing and food for the young people, what about their leisure time after service hours, and so forth? The use of young people in medical services, ecological construction projects, or elsewhere should be a matter for the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

[Sirota] Would not all army problems be resolved if the Army turned professional

[Vacek] In view of our traditions and of the possibilities of our economy, for the time being this seems to me less realistic. In fact, the expenses for professional armies are 4-6 times higher than for non-professional ones. Only the economically strongest states have professional armies.

[Sirota] The Army can help our economy precisely by reducing its expenditures—but also, for instance, by letting its soldiers work in construction and elsewhere.

[Vacek] As for construction brigades—a possibility considered in the past—the CSLA leadership has pointed out that they contradict the Geneva agreement on forced labor. According to this agreement, nobody may be induced to work except for economic motives. In other words, this means no construction brigades for us. However, in keeping with our original plans we will be strengthening our railroad troops. On top of that, the soldiers will work about 1.2 million working days annually for our national economy. The present figure is about 8,700 working days, not counting the short-term assistance to agriculture.

[Sirota] Will the reduction of our Army not endanger the social certainties of professional soldiers?

[Vacek] It would be insincere to say that these certainties are not threatened in part, because they are. But the "cause" is not the democratization process—it is the logical culmination of disarmament negotiations. We will resolve the situation via officers' retirements—although in the past we used to insist that they remain even after reaching retirement age. Another way to cut down the number of professional soldiers is to allow the young officers, who have found that they cannot cope with service requirements, to gradually leave the Army and enter civilian life.

However, I also want to say that we would not like to take our leave of those who have honestly served up to now, and who want to continue their service.

[Sirota] The military training grounds are still a problem. Will their number be reduced?

[Vacek] The citizens are not properly informed about the size of our military training grounds. They mostly occupy land which is quite unsuitable for agricultural purposes. We have a total of 14 training facilities, covering an area of 2,400 square kilometers, i.e. about 2.6 percent of the total territory of our republic; which is quite a large area. To round out the picture, it must be said that only about one third of it is used for troop training; the rest consists of military forests and farms. We are thinking of gradually handing over certain areas on the fringes of our training grounds for civilian use.

[Sirota] What interest is there in buying military technology?

[Vacek] The interest is not as great as one could expect. The primary reason is that this technology has a high fuel consumption. The situation is this: We have offered 65 T-54 and T-55 tanks for sale; 11 of them were sold by the beginning of January, for Kcs 100,000-150,000. Sales to museums abroad were far more profitable.

[Sirota] Military counterintelligence [VKR] is a powerful, and obviously dreaded, force. Was it also used for the surveillance of people because of their political views?

[Vacek] I will begin by digressing slightly. In spite of all the positive steps undertaken in the world, both our own Armed Forces and those of other countries will remain an object of interest for foreign intelligence. That is why the VKR must exist.

I can guarantee that this will be the only task which our counterintelligence will have, because the CSSR Government Decree No 3 of 4 January 1990 has put an end to the VKR's abnormal dual subordination to the Ministries of Interior and of National Defense. The dual subordination which existed up to now could also have lead to abuse.

[Sirota] The number of soldiers and military equipment and the amount of armament expenditures are being cut down. Does this mean that the time for disbanding the military blocs is drawing near?

[Vacek] It is difficult to estimate today how long this will take. However, I think that we are closer to this step than we were 2 years ago.

[Sirota] Thank you for the interview.

New Federal Assembly Deputies Elected 30 Jan

LD3001151190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Roman Zamboch report from Federal Assembly sessions in Prague]

[Excerpts] Deputies of our highest representative body met today primarily to replenish the parliament with new blood, as decided on the basis of roundtable discussions. A total of 118 deputies, including 6 women, have been elected in both chambers this morning to fill the vacated seats. I have noted down some statistical facts: According to age, both chambers elected 11 deputies under the age of 30, 35 deputies in the age group 30-40 years old, and 72 deputies above the age of 40 years, including 8 deputies aged 60 and over. The oldest of the newly elected deputies is (Michal Gecy) deputy for the Democratic Party in the Turcianske Teplice constituency.

He will be 71 this year. The youngest deputy originally was (Szilard Somogyi), who will be 21 years old in March. He is a deputy for the Dunajska Streda constituency. According to the current election law only citizens aged 21 or over can be elected, this fact also caused some confusion in the people's chamber. And despite the fact that Szilard Somogyi had already taken the deputy's oath, People's Chamber Chairman Josef Bartoncik a short while ago declared his election invalid, and Dunajska Streda has to find a new candidate. So the youngest deputy elected today is the 24-year old (Jana Petrova), from Rychnov nad Kneznou [passage omitted] Deputies of the People's Chamber also elected new members of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly. They are: Dr Vaclav Benda, (Jan Langos), Vawsil Mohorita and Dr Jaroslava Sabata. [passage omitted]

CPCZ Loses Majority

LD3001211590 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—According to available information the 350-member supreme Czechoslovak legislative body is made up of 152 deputies without party affiliation (83 in the House of the People, 63 in the House of Nations), 138 communists (79 House of the People, 59 House of Nations), 18 members of the People's Party (11 House of the People, 7 House of Nations) and 18 members of the Socialist Party (11 House of the People, 7 House of Nations).

The Slovak Freedom Party has five mandates (2 House of the People, 3 House of Nations) and the Democratic Party four mandates (2 House of the People, 2 House of Nations), three parliamentary seats belong to Czechoslovak Social Democracy (2 House of the People, 1 House of Nations), the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative has two seats (both in the House of the People) and the Christian Democratic party has also two seats in the House of the People. The Greens Party and the Hungarian Independent Initiative have one mandate each, both in the House of the People. The remaining six seats (4 in the House of the People and 2 in the House of nations) are vacant so far.

Both houses of the Czechoslovak parliament were supplemented today by 120 members. Only eight of them are Communists which means that the Czechoslovak Communist party has thus lost its more than 40-year majority in the parliament.

According to CTK own sources 87 deputies elected today are without party affiliation, eight are Communists, eight are members of the People's Party. The Slovak Freedom Party is represented by five deputies, the Democratic Party by three, the Socialist Party and the Christian-Democratic Party by one deputy each.

After today's reconstruction of the parliament, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has less than 40 percent of seats in the parliament. The number of members of the supreme legislative assembly without party affiliation is more than three percent higher, i.e. 43.4 percent.

Socialist Party Pre-Election Plans

LD2201184690 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party enters a new stage of its activities which will culminate by its congress here on March 10, new party Chairman Jan Skoda told journalists here today.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party has been consistently supporting the traditions of the national socialist movement which were formed in Bohemia already at the end of the 19th century. In the conditions of the first Czechoslovak state (1918-39) the party existed under the name the National Socialist Party. After February 1948, when power was taken over by the communists, the National Socialist Party experienced a "revival" and changed its name to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. It was one of the four non-communist parties which were active within the platform of the National Front, Jan Skoda said.

The party had some 15,000 members in November 1989 and was joined by 5,000 new members in the past two months. The party has as yet been active only on the territory of Bohemia and Moravia but today its primary organizations are being created also in Slovenia. Changes in the party organizations will be fixed firmly in the new rules which will be approved by the forthcoming congress.

Referring to the restoration of the Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Party chairman pointed out the differences in the principles of work of the two parties. The Socialist Party and its predecessor, the National Socialist Party, always proceeded from the ideas of humanism and patriotism, did not recognize Marxism, in contract to the Social Democracy, as the determining ideology and did not subordinate the demands and needs of the nation to theses about internationalism.

In his statement at the press conference, vice-chairman of the Czechoslovak National Social Party in Exile, Miroslav Viktor Fic from Canada recalled that the party had been set up from former national socialists in 1949. It was joined by those who left Czechoslovakia in 1948 and 1968. The party held three congresses and four conferences to which national committees in various parts of the world, the most active being in Austria, FRG, USA, Canada and Australia, sent their delegates. The fourth congress of the Czechoslovak National Social Party in Exile has been called to Prague on March 9. Miroslva V. Fic said that some 60 delegates are expected to take part. The party intends to join the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and participate in the election campaign. Socialist Party Chairman Jan Skoda added that the member of the two parties would be, above all, a moral contribution to the ideological sphere for future effective work in the framework of the diversified political sphere after the free elections in June 1990. At present 36 political [word indistinct] have been registered in this country since November last year.

Security Corps Supports Interior Ministry

AU3101081190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] CTK—To fortify the security and peace of our citizens, the Federal Ministry of the Interior has decided to reinforce the order-keeping forces attached to the Public Security Corps with Interior Ministry troops. These troops will be identified by a red, white, and blue tricolor emblem as an indication that, in harmony with our people's wishes, they are protecting democracy and freedom. Recently, the CSSR Federal Ministry of the Interior also received a letter from the nationwide assembly of the National Security Corps members' independent trade unions. On behalf of 35,000 members, it expresses full support for the current Interior Ministry leadership and states that members will thoroughly fulfill all the tasks set by the CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments.

CPSU's Mikhaylov Answers Questions on Azerbaijan

LD3001224390 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[No video available]

[Text] Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, from the Department of Interethnic Relations of the CPSU, has just returned from Azerbaijan and Armenia after a 3 week stay. He gave a press conference in Moscow today.

We asked him two questions: First, whether it was not possible to avoid the murder of Armenians and pogroms in Baku on 13 and 14 January, because it does not seem likely that the responsible authorities were unaware of any signals about the situation becoming tense. Second, why did the state authorities in Azerbaijan not begin a constructive dialogue earlier with the People's Front as a realistic political force, and whether this was not the reason that the extremist wing has prevailed now in the People's Front.

Vyacheslav Mikhaylov said in answer to the first question that the conviction that nothing like that could happen in Baku is to be blamed. When people were murdered in Sumgait in 1988 there was relative calmness in Baku. The mistake was that sufficient attention was not given to the Azerbaijani people turned out of Armenia; about 200,000 of them entered Baku and they became a time bomb. The tragedy could have been averted but it must be admitted that the legal protection bodies did not act in the best possible way.

He said, in answer to the second question, that there are many sensible and intelligent people in the People's Front of Azerbaijan. The state authorities and the repub-

lic's party officials were unable to establish a dialogue with them, to lean upon them, and in this way to isolate the extremist wing. They are now directly responsible for the fact that now it is very difficult to conduct dialogue with the People's Front.

Sliac Demonstrators Urge Soviet Withdrawal

LD2701232390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] A demonstration was held at the Sliac airport this afternoon by citizens of Banska Bystrica, Zvolen, and Sliac to support their demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. Lubomir Krno reports:

[Begin Krno recording] Around 1,500 citizens have gathered on the airport's tarmac to demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. Demonstrators heard several statements and demands, which they endorsed by spontaneous applause. They pointed out, above all, that the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia was unjustified, as well as unlawful. A doctor from the local spa argued by citing the harmful effect aircraft noise has on the treatment of patients suffering from heart disease. The demonstrators learned that it had been found already in 1983 that the top level of underground waters in the surrounding area was covered by a 32-cm-thick layer of aviation fuel. This is why, in a statement addressed to the commander of Soviet troops, they have asked for an immediate reduction in daily air traffic and the cessation of night flights, at least until such time as the Soviet troops depart. At the same time, they have asked him to issue an order prohibiting heavy trucks which by their noise and air pollution, especially in the late evening and early morning hours, are disturbing their peace. The demonstrators also appealed to Soviet citizens living on Czechoslovak territory, upon their departure, to leave their apartments at least in the same state they are at present because instances of deliberate vandalization of apartments allegedly have been discovered. According to the chairman of the National Committee in Sliac, 440 apartments would be released in the event of a withdrawal. In another statement addressed to the minister of national defense, the demonstrators ask the ministry to consider as sensitively as possible the future use of the military section of the airport after the Soviet troops' departure in light of the specific conditions of the Sliac spas.

In closing, one perhaps should say that the demonstration also had its appropriate level of political culture, for in their statement the demonstrators assured Soviet soldiers, as well as other Soviet citizens, that they will gladly welcome them in our country as tourists. [end recording]

TU's Call for Resisting Government Decree

AU0501095790 Prague PRACE in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Standpoint of the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement on the Statement of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs"]

[Text] Replying to an interpellation from Federal Assembly deputies, Mr Petr Miller, minister of labor and social affairs, stated that on 19 December he signed a new decree on material safeguards for employees laid off as a result of structural changes. The decree concerns the retraining and social security of employees before taking up a new job and it will go into effect on 1 January 1990.

In this connection we draw attention to the fact that the decree is being issued contrary to Article 23 of CSSR Law No 52 of 1989 (Labor Code) and, moreover, contrary to Convention of the International Labor Office No 122 of 1964 on employment policy, by which the CSSR is bound. Article 3 of this treaty states that, in implementing the convention, employment policy is to be discussed with representatives of persons, especially of employers and employees, whom the measures that are to be taken will affect, so that full account can be taken of their experiences and views and so that their full cooperation is ensured in laying down this policy and enlisting support for it.

The course of action taken by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs also runs counter to the General Declaration of Trade Union Rights approved by the World Trade Union Congress in April 1978. Under Article 24 of this declaration, trade union organizations have the right to be consulted during work on laws, and guidelines for the implementation of laws, which directly touch upon all questions that are of direct or indirect concern to the working people.

In view of these facts we regard the decree as discriminatory and call on trade union members to employ all means in defense of their rights and interests, making use of all forms of trade union struggle.

Three TU Federations Conclude Meetings

AU2201111690 Prague PRACE in Czech 15 Jan 90 pp 1,2

["(ger, py)"-signed report: "On the Way Toward the All-Union Congress; First Three Trade Unions Conclude Negotiations in Usti nad Labem"]

[Excerpts] Usti nad Labem—After the introductory part was concluded, the extraordinary congress of the independent Chemical and Glass Industries and Press Workers Trade Union, which was convened in Usti nad Labem for Friday and Saturday [5 and 6 January], continued with the independent sessions of the chemical

and glass industries workers. The constituent congress of the Printing Industry Workers Trade Union will be held later.

Thanks to perfect preparation, the delegates to the constituent congress of the Glass, Ceramics, and Costume Jewellery Industries and Porcelain Workers Trade Union were able to conclude their deliberations early on Saturday [6 January] afternoon. On the other hand the chemical workers still had quite a number of tasks to discuss at that time. The fact that the glass industry workers had gathered in Usti nad Labem one day earlier, at the initiative of their Coordination Committee, was a great help. Jaroslav Kuch, until now head of the Economic Department of the Czech Trade Unions Committee, became the new chairman of the Federal Committee of the Trade Union Committee. [passage omitted] In winding up the congress, the new chairman stressed the need of a well-considered choice of members for the assembly representing the 197 primary organizations; they should not only have adequate professional knowledge, but also enjoy general moral respect.

Chemical Workers Have a New Program

At the beginning of their Saturday [6 January] negotiations, the delegates to the constituent congress of the Chemical Industry Workers Trade Union were briefed on the results of the secret ballot for electing their Presidium and the Auditing Commission. Vladimir Zizka from the Litvinov Chemical Works was elected chairman of the trade union's Federal Committee; four other full-time members of the 11-member Presidium were elected.

During the next part of the program, the congress delegates were informed that the Coordination Center had set their quota of 68 delegates to the all-union trade union congress (which is currently under preparation) in accordance with the size of their membership. The delegates to the trade union congress decided that the union's Presidium should work out a formula for the election of delegates in 205 plant org_nizationas, in which 202,000 chemical workers are currently organized. [passage omitted] The constituent congress of the Chemical Industry Workers Trade Union ended its negotiations on Saturday [6 January] afternoon by adopting a final resolution.

Slovak Security Corps Trade Union Planned

LD0401211590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The coordination committee of the trade union of members of the National Security Corps has constituted an all-Slovak Coordination Committee for setting up a trade union for members of the Corps. It discussed draft program theses, draft statutes, as well as policies up to the all-Slovak constituent conference of the trade union which will be held on 12 January.

Civil Aviation Employees Set Up Labor Union

AU2201192790 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Jan 90 p 2

["kjk"-signed report: "Aviation Workers Independently"]

[Excerpt] Prague— The existing independent trade unions were reinforced with another one at the beginning of this week—with the Union of Civil Aviation Workers [Svaz Pracovniku Civilniho Letectvi]. Its founding conference at Prague-Ruzyne Airport was attended by representatives of trade union organizations from the Czechoslovak Airlines, Slovair, RLP [expansion unknown], the State Air Inspection Office, and the Airfield Construction enterprise. The trade union's programmatic statement states, among other things, that individual enterprises and organizations and their staff are associated in the Union of Civil Aviation Workers on an equal basis, regardless of political affiliation and religious belief. The trade union will defend the interests of civil aviation workers in labor-related legal matters, supervise the provision of social care by employers, and enforce the legitimate interests and needs of its members. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Urges Responsibility on German Issue

LD3001124890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1144 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Negotiations between GDR Premier Hans Modrow and Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev opened in Moscow this morning.

USSR Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and the head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, Valentin Falin, took part.

Prior to the talks, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke to journalists about the problem of the rapprochement of the two German states. Asked about the Soviet stance on this question, he spoke in support of responsible actions. "It seems to me there is a certain agreement among Germans in the East and the West and among the representatives of the four powers that, in principle, German unification is not doubted by anyone."

The Soviet head of state added that the course of current events in the world, Europe, the Soviet Union, and the GDR makes it necessary for the course of events to be thought out carefully. Time is now beginning to have an effect on this process and has clearly accelerated it.

"But I think this is a very important point in European and world politics. All of us, in the GDR, the FRG, and, I am convinced, in all European capitals, and most of all in those of the four powers, must act responsibly," Gorbachev stressed.

"I think that the Germans in the FRG and the GDR also require that this important question, which concerns their fate and that of other peoples of Europe, be solved responsibly. I believe it must not be solved on the street."

The points of departure for this process are clear to him, Mikhail Gorbachev continued. "There are two German states, there are the obligations of the four powers, there is the European process—and it is also proceeding tempestuously—all this must be brought into harmony. This is in our common interest. In no event must the Germans' interests be allowed to diminish, because I am favor a realistic process. But if we have said that history will decide—and I have said that many times—then it will be so. And I believe that it is already introducing its corrections."

GDR Applies for Council of Europe Guest Status

LD3001172690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1316 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Strasbourg (ADN)—Poland today officially applied for acceptance [as a full member] in the Council of Europe. [passage omitted]

Anders Bjoerck, president of the Council of Europe, announced that the GDR has applied for the status of special guest in Strasbourg today. Poland, Hungary, the USSR, and Yugoslavia already have this status, which allows parliamentarians to take part in debates but without the right to vote. Bjoerck said that the GDR also wants to be accepted as a full member of the organization as soon as possible and is prepared to accede to various European conventions. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister: EC Membership 'Conceivable'

LD2901220790 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The GDR regards joining the EC as conceivable in principle. Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Meyer said today at the start of negotiations on a cooperation agreement in Brussels that the ideas of the GDR Government range from association to full membership. Meyer initially expects from the talks that began today access to the West European internal market and a bilateral opening of markets. EC negotiator Benavides made the assessment following the first round of discussions that the agreement could be home and dry in the first half of the year.

Delegation Meets Israeli Officials in Copenhagen

LD2801155690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—High-ranking GDR and Israeli diplomats met for talks in Copenhagen on Sunday. The Danish news agency RITZAU has reported that during the next few days they will be discussing reparations for crimes committed against Jewish citizens during the time of fascism, and the start of diplomatic relations. The meeting in the Danish capital was preceded by talks in the Israeli Embassy in Brussels.

According to news agencies, the Israeli delegation is headed by Michael Shiloh, an adviser of Foreign Minister Moshe Arens. The talks came about at the GDR's initiative.

The GDR Foreign Ministry, when asked on the telephone by ADN, refused to confirm or deny the story.

Winter on Normalization of Relations

LD2901224790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2012 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Copenhagen/Berlin (ADN)—GDR and Israeli diplomats met on Monday in Copenhagen for talks on normalizing relations. [passage omitted]

In the words of GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Heinz Dieter Winter, the Modrow government is also being led by the desire to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Israel. Winter said to GDR Radio on Monday in Berlin that cooperation in the most varied areas, e.g., in the economy, science, and technology, as well as culture, could develop on this basis. The GDR believes that a diplomatic blockade is not a suitable way to solve political questions and conflicts. Winter stressed that

relations with Israel are not directed against third parties, in particular not against the Arab states.

Cooperation With FRG in Science, Technology

AU3001060490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 90 p 7

[ADN report: "GDR and FRG Discussed Cooperation in Science and Technology"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Klaus-Peter Budig and Heinz Riesenhuber, the ministers responsible for science and technology of the GDR and the FRG, respectively, agreed on a new stage of cooperation in Bonn on Thursday [25 January]. Both politicians consider intensifying and increasing comprehensive scientific-technological cooperation, which is to grow on both sides mainly "from below," as an essential element for further developing overall relations between the two German states.

Agree on Research Projects

AU3001060290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "56 Research Projects Between GDR and FRG"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Klaus-Peter Budig and Heinz Riesenhuber, the ministers responsible for science and technology in the GDR and the FRG, agreed on a new stage of cooperation in Bonn on Thursday [25 January]. The ministers concurrently agreed on such focal issues of research as ecology, energy, transportation and traffic, as well as telecommunication.

Honecker Released on Grounds of Ill Health

Court Rejects Prosecutor's Appeal

LD3001174590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Fifth Criminal Bench of the Berlin City Court today rejected the GDR prosecutor general's appeal against the decision of the Berlin-Mitte city borough court, by means of which the issuing of an arrest warrant in the investigations against Erich Honecker was refused. [passage omitted]

The Prosecutor General's Office told ADN this evening in response to an inquiry that Honecker should be released immediately. This had not happened by 1725.

Released From Custody

LD3001182690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1757 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The former state and Socialist Unity Party of Germany head Erich Honecker was released on Tuesday evening [30 January] from investigative custody at around 1830 [1730 GMT]. [passage omitted]

Reasons for Release Cited

LD3001160290 Hamburg DPA in German 1550 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR's former state and party leader, Erich Honecker, was released from prison this afternoon.

In its justification, the Fifth Criminal Bench said that even "taking into account the gravity of the charge leveled against Honecker, in the final analysis, the state of health of the accused militated against imprisonment." The justification also says the decision was based on medical statements issued by two independent medical institutes, which confirm he is unfit to be held in a prison hospital.

Taken to Church Institution

LD3001192390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former state and SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leader Erich Honecker was taken to the Hoffnungsthal institute of Lobetal near Bernau to the northeast of Berlin this evening, immediately after being released from the Berlin-Rummelsberg remand prison. The head of the church institution, Pastor Uwe Holmer, confirmed this in response to a query from ADN.

Honecker Government Said Involved in Drugs

AU2701213990 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27-28 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Honecker Government Turned Schoenefeld Airport Into Drug Trafficking Turnstile"]

[Text] Berlin—The former GDR Government under Erich Honecker acquired foreign currency through its involvement in drug trafficking. DIE WELT received this information from the Modrow government, which has ordered an investigation of the foreign currency deals concluded by Schalck-Golodkowski, former state secretary in the GDR Foreign Trade Ministry. According to this information, the Schoenefeld International Airport in East Berlin played a decisive role in drug trafficking. "Schoenefeld was a hub," it was said. The former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Government partly was involved in drug trafficking itself, partly condoning it. In this connection, competent sources pointed out that the "Arab area"—in particular Libya and Syria—used the GDR and, especially, East Berlin as a "transit country." "They operated quite freely there," it was said.

According to information gained by DIE WELT, the topic of drug trafficking has been broached by the Modrow government. However, it was said, the investigations and the checks of deals made by Schalck and secured by the supreme SED leadership have are still in the initial stages. GDR Government circles commented on the state of the current results: "It seems to be certain

that the SED leadership condoned, but partly probably also organized the drug dealing." Schoenefeld had a particular role in this. As regards condoning drug deals, East Berlin was "generous" so as not to endanger income from other sectors. This generosity also applied to arms deals. In this connection, government circles in East Berlin also confirmed that more secret arms depots were discovered during the investigations. These arms were destined for exports.

The Modrow government has kept the results of the investigations concerning drug trafficking secret, obviously in view of the already tense situation in the GDR. "What happened there is a disaster, this is very bad," it was said in government circles in East Berlin. On the other hand, further investigations are difficult because the drug and arms deals were safeguarded strictly and were covered by a smoke-screen. Then, Schalck himself is at large and some of those who could provide information "are still in the apparatus and restrain themselves." Schalck is accused of having "worked with a high degree of criminal intelligence." Guenter Mittag, the former SED Politburo member responsible for economic affairs, covered Schalck's activities. "Since 1972 Schalck had a letter signed by Mittag, according to which the companies headed by him are non-residents and thus do not belong to the GDR economy." On this basis the companies headed by Schalck "made deals through channels and accounts outside the GDR." This also applies to the large-scale sale of antiquities. "Thuringian castles were emptied."

In the course of the changed situation in the GDR and the investigation of the State Security Office's files, Bonn hopes to learn whether and to which extent members of the Libyan Embassy in East Berlin were involved in the attack on the "La Belle" discotheque in West Berlin on 5 April. Two people were killed during the attack and 230 were injured, some of them seriously. The decoding of radio messages showed that the attack had been announced by the Libyan representation in East Berlin on 4 April for the next day. Immediately after the attack the Libyan People's Bureau reported the success to Tripoli, pointing out that no traces had been left.

Bonn considers it possible that the GDR State Security Service helped in the attack on the discotheque, "maybe by facilitating the escape of the culprits."

GDR Planning Transition to Market Economy

LD2901141390 Hamburg DPA in German 1308 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Stuttgart (DPA/VWD)—The GDR government under Hans Modrow will give the "roundtable" a plan "for a transition to a social market economy" before the end of the week. State Secretary Wolfram Krause, head of the government commission for the reform of the GDR economy, announced this today in Stuttgart. Speaking to a meeting of 1,000 entrepreneurs from Baden-Wuerttemberg, Modrow's economic planner said that this transition to a social market economy must be implemented more quickly than in other East European countries.

The GDR state secretary does not consider a "middle course between a planned economy and a market economy" to be realistic. "Halfheartedness" in this matter means "an unsuitable attempt to wash the bear without wetting his fur." Modrow's government is also striving for a social market economy because later, on its basis, "East-West compatibility" is guaranteed.

At the same time Krause announced a price reform in the GDR that he described as a necessary lead-in to a market economy. Krause: "The price reform is the lead-in to a market economy, otherwise it is no market economy." The reform of the GDR's subsidy policy also must go along with this. The GDR wishes to achieve the GDR-mark's convertibility as soon as possible. At the same time Modrow's government is interested in reaching a currency agreement between the GDR and the Federal Republic as soon as possible. The present exchange rate of 1:3 between West and East marks has been accepted by citizens.

Clashes With Republicans in East Berlin

AU3101095890 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Yesterday evening, clashes between demonstrating GDR citizens and adherents of the extreme-right West German Republicans took place. The police only intervened when leftist young people, some of whom had GDR banners and red headbands, chased the approximately 20 adherents of the Republicans through the center of East Berlin. The police called for nonviolence over loudspeakers.

Socialist Unity Party Plans To Adopt New Name

LD3001131390 Hamburg DPA in German 1013 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the former state party in the GDR, is to shed its old name next Sunday and will reemerge as the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). Jochen Willerding, head of the commission for international politics in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, told journalists on Tuesday that the party Presidium will adopt a resolution to this effect.

SED-PDS Announces 'Concept for Europe'

LD3001150890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1225 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At an international news conference today the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] presented its concept for Europe, its ideas for European development up to and beyond the year 2000 and for practical steps to overcome the division of Euorpe. It supports a united

Europe with confederal structures, it supports democracy and human rights and the continent's demilitarization.

A democratic Europe, the concept states, is not conceivable without overcoming the military bloc confrontation. The SED-PDS backed a Europe without weapons of mass destruction, it backed radical conventional disarmament to the extent of both sides being incapable of attack, and it backed comprehensive trust-building. This would include the dissolution of the military organization of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The party supports a comprehensive and gradual process of German- German rapprochement which leads via a treaty-based community to a state federation [Staatenbund] of the two German states as a contribution to the demilitarization and democratization of European international relations and to a cooperative, social solidarity and ecologically-oriented and finally multiform confederative Europe.

It is a matter of course that Berlin (West) will be included in this process.

The SED-PDS backed the preservation of the GDR's political, social, and cultural identity and independence [Eigenstaendigkeit] in this development and the freeing of its advantages as a democratic-socialist state. The realization of the German nation's national and other decisive interests is not possible without overall European unification.

The party strongly opposed a German-national and revanchist solution to the German question. "We want neither a Fourth Reich nor a Greater German Federal Republic, in which neo-fascism is legalized, employment bars are imposed on communists, workers are excluded from the exercise of power and threatened with unemployment, women are subjected to the yoke of paragraph 218, and our Eastern neighbor states are confronted with NATO membership of all of Germany."

"The SED-PDS consistently supports respect for borders in Europe, and particularly the inviolability of the Polish Western border," the concept says. The party is operating at the current stage on the basis of maintaining the German nation's double statehood and actively supported the shaping of all practical possibilities for the German nation's coexistence and development. The GDR should continue to be brought into a confederative German treaty-based community as an attractive and dynamic socialist, democratically legitimized and antifascist state.

German-German rapprochement must be shaped in harmony with the interests of the neighbor states, the four powers, and of overall European security and cooperation and be directed toward the creation of the European home.

Jochen Willerding, member of the party executive Presidium and head of the International Policy Commission, stressed that it was the previous SED leadership's cardinal error to declare the German qeustion to have been "historically decided." This thesis did a great deal of damage and, from today's point of view, was false. Even the future treaty-based community involves special relations between the two German states.

From the viewpoint of international law, he said in response to a question, the FRG is abroad as far as the GDR is concerned. Referring to the emotions among the GDR population regarding "German Unity," Willerding said that his party's concept for Europe could contribute "to making the discussion an objective one" in the country.

Regarding the announcement made by FRG Chancellor Kohl about wanting to conduct an election campaign in the GDR, Willerding said that it was "highly unusual" for a head of government to appear to pay more attention to election campaigning in another country than in his own. Instead, Kohl should make a statement on the border question, for example the Oder-Neisse peace border, which greatly concerns the Polish people. The assertion by the Christian Socialist Union that the SED-PDS and the Social Democratic Party in the GDR have concocted a plot with regard to the date of the election on 18 March is senseless, as there were no bilateral talks between the two parties.

For further development in Europe and relations between the two German states the CSCE framework forms a very good platform. His party welcomed the proposal made by Mikhail Gorbachev to hold a Helsinki 2 conference this year and the initiative of French President Mitterrand for a European confederation, to which the German states could make an active security contribution.

In the course of the press conference the SED-PDS representatives commented on other questions, including cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA states.

Leipzig Council Members Resign From SED-PDS

LD3001154290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The eleven members of the Leipzig Area Council who belong to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], including Council Chairman Joachim Draber, today resigned from the SED-PDS.

A statement passed to ADN says that by so doing they are stressing their view "that the SED-PDS—heavily burdened by its past—is clearly incapable of radical renewal and so has lost trust and stands in the path of the country's further peaceful democratization and recovery. We will continue to fulfill, to the best of our ability and with all our strength, the duties vested in us,

free from party political constraints and interests, committed only to the citizens' well-being and the Leipzig Area's development and on the basis of the Area Assembly's laws and decisions.

Area Executive Resigns

LD3101111590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0943 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany- Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] Leipzig Area Executive resigned during the night. Roland Woetzel said that this step was a grassroots measure against the present leadership. Clear signals have not been given for the party's radical renewal.

The step was taken in response to pressure from the Leipzig initiative group PDS. Business is now being conducted by a managing committee headed by 36-year-old Rainer Enke, secretary of the SED- PDS group in the Leipzig Area Assembly.

Magdeburg Bezirk Executive, Presidium Resign

LD2901194790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1856 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism Magdeburg Bezirk Executive Resigns"—ADN headline]

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—A working committee to prepare for the bezirk [area] delegate conference of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) constituted itself in Magdeburg today. Earlier the bezirk executive and its Presidium resigned unanimously, although without abandoning its responsibility to account for itself at the delegate conference in February.

They were answering the demand made by the party grass roots, which has in recent days repeatedly spoken out against the slowness of the consolidation process and against the old apparat.

De Maiziere on Withdrawal From Government

AU3001094590 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 27-28 Jan 90 p 2

[Olaf Ihlau report: "De Maiziere: We Need A Grand Coalition Soon"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR, 26 January—Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union in the GDR [CDU] and GDR deputy prime minister, has justified the withdrawal of his party's ministers from the Modrow Government by citing the necessity of "exerting pressure, " so as to bring about "a broad coalition of common sense" sooner. He said that in this emergency situation, "all those who feel responsible for the future must work hard and knuckle down" now to prevent the GDR from going down in chaos. In a SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG interview, de Maiziere also criticized Modrow's style of government and warned the chief of government about playing a tactical game with the vote of confidence. He said that if Modrow were to secretly put his stakes on turning to the people directly in a referendum, in case the coalition talks beginning on Sunday [28 January] failed, he would possibly be disappointed. "I am not sure whether he can afford that; several weeks ago, Modrow, who is a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], almost had the image of an independent politician; however, now his party's past is increasingly catching up with him," de Maiziere said.

De Maiziere rejected the reproach that by withdrawing from the government, the CDU wanted to escape responsibility and was straining for dramatic effect. He said that, surely, the party also intended to "get out of a certain defensive attitude," which was based on its loyalty to the government coalition and was "exploited" by the opposition parties "in an almost shameless way." However, what had been decisive for making the decision was the consideration of rallying all significant political forces and "of taking the edge out of the election campaign." He said that the opposition should no longer be allowed to just stand aside as a critical adviser at best. It must do its duty and make sure that "regarding the necessary government decisions, we only have the opportunity of choosing the least of two evils," de Maiziere said. While many sensible things were being negotiated at the roundtable, the permanent haggling and wrangling did not lead to sufficiently productive results "at a time when the crisis is growing worse."

In addition—de Maiziere went on to defend his party's move—the CDU Presidium's decision was only the logical consequence of the prime minister's behavior. He said that without prior consultation with his partners, at the recent roundtable meeting, Modrow offered the representatives of the opposition parties cabinet posts "and unreasonably expected not only us but also his own SED ministers to renounce their offices if the new groups claimed them." So nobody should be surprised that some people said they would make way for others.

The way Hans Modrow had acted was "somehow new and surprising" for the CDU, said de Maiziere, demonstrating profound irritation. For instance, the chief of the government resumed deliberations on the possibility of concrete cooperation with the opposition groups, "and I do not think that you can do so without consulting your partners with whom you have shared responsibility." De Maiziere added that Modrow had not expounded his ideas to his coalition partners before Wednesday [24 January]. In this talk, the demand made by the Democratic Awakening group that, in a government of "national confidence," all SED members had to renounce their party mandate, was also discussed, de Maiziere said. He personally had asked Modrow whether such a thing was conceivable. To his surprise, the chief of government had said that "it can go that far." De Maiziere now considers it possible that in the coalition negotiations, Modrow will yield to the demand of giving up his party offices. He added, however, that more

cannot reasonably be expected of him, because "surely one cannot in addition take away his political identity from him." The CDU chairman does not believe that Modrow could follow the example of Dresden Chief Mayor Berghofer and resign from the SED. However, he has the impression that Modrow has been aware for a long time "that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, or whatever it may then be called, does not have a chance on 6 May."

De Maiziere is uneasy about the Bonn parties' increasing interference in the GDR's policy. "Our country is too fragile to endure a massive Bundestag election campaign." However, de Maiziere assumes that the party landscape in the GDR will become increasingly similar to that in West Germany, "including a big left and right bloc, some greens and liberals, and a Communist Party of Germany with a few figures before the comma." Therefore, it is not necessary for a "concentration" to take place in the bourgeois camp, "prior to 6 May, perhaps in the form of an election alliance or a joint ticket," de Maiziere said.

Former Gera SED Officials Face Arrest

LD2701174290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Gera (ADN)—The investigative proceedings currently under way against Herbert Ziegenhahn, former first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area (bezirk) Executive of Gera, on suspicion of misuse of trust under Paragraph 165 of the Criminal Code, have been extended. An arrest warrant has been issued. Ziegenhahn is in a prison hospital due to his state of health.

Birgit Wolf, the press spokeswoman of the state prosecutor Gera Area, told ADN today that criminal proceedings have also been instigated against Werner Ullrich, former chairman of the Gera Area Council, on suspicion of election fraud. An order for his detention was issued today.

Former Police Political Officer Commits Suicide

AU2701201290 Hamburg BILD in German 26 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Report by W. Kenntemich and E. Laib: "GDR General Primpke Shot Himself"]

[Excerpt] There is a general crisis in the GDR. Yesterday Honecker's defense minister, Heinz Kessler, an Army general, was arrested. Allegedly, he had abused his office by committing criminal acts.

And yesterday it became known that Major General Erwin Primpke (59), the highest-ranking political officer of the German People's Police, shot himself. Primpke was first secretary of the kreis leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in the Interior Ministry. In this office, the major general supervised the People's Police. In November 1989 he was fired.

As a political officer, Maj Gen Primpke had controlled the People's Police for 12 years on the SED's behalf; he was its actual commander. For this and for his spying on behalf of the State Security Service he received the "Patriotic Order of Merit" from the old SED regime.

His fall was too deep, his dismissal brought him too much shame. He celebrated Christmas with his family, with his two grandchildren. And on 27 December he picked up his pistol and shot himself. [passage omitted]

Neubrandenburg Security Chief Under Investigation

LD3001100490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0924 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—Investigative proceedings have begun against the head of the former area office for National Security in Neubrandenburg, Major General Dr Peter Koch, on urgent suspicion of a serious breach of trust to the disadvantage of socialist property and arrogation of state powers. He is in custody under investigation.

ADN Reports Investigation of Mielke

LD2601200190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In all his actions he adhered to the Constitution, everything was legal. Former minister for state security, Erich Mielke, said this today at a hearing before members of the Berlin investigative commission to examine citizens' concerns in connection with the events on 7 and 8 October in the GDR capital. They had the opportunity to talk to Mielke for 35 minutes in the investigative detention centre.

In a conversation with ADN afterwards, it was said tht Mielke had been questioned, above all, about his political responsibility for the events surrounding the 40th anniversary and about the command situation at that time. Using "old secret service strategy," however, he gave neither specific clues nor names. He knew nothing about illegal actions. All those arrested were quickly released. The basis of all action was the relevant orders from the chairman of the National Defense Council (Erich Honecker).

Mielke answered the question about the reason for the massive deployment of security forces by saying that it was to protect the guests of honor invited for the celebrations and to protect the state frontier. At any rate, he had information that hundreds of thousands intended to storm the wall.

Like other former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and state functionaries who have been questioned by the commission, Mielke denied that violence had been planned. He could only say that he still declared his support for 40 years of the GDR and for "his" party today.

Members of the commission reported further that during the talks, also attended by Mielke's defense lawyer and a military state prosecutor, the person being questioned gave the impression of being a very old man. Because of a ban by the prosecutor general it has not been possible to take photographs. From a medical report it emerges that Mielke's state of health has worsened; he is suffering from poor concentration. At present the former Stasi head is in solitary confinment in a sick ward. His 80-year-old wife is allowed to visit him once a month.

The questioners said that after all they have heard and seen they cannot understand how such a man could have been one of the most powerful in the state. It is scarcely credible that he was governing alone with Honecker.

The minutes of the hearing will be incorporated in the commission's report for the Berlin city assembly's next session.

Prosecutor General's Spokesman on Republicans

AU3001100090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with Dieter Plath, deputy press spokesman of the GDR prosecutor general, by Rainer Funke; date and place not given: "The Republicans and Our Constitution"]

[Text] [Funke] In a confidential report—presented by the ARD's [first FRG television channel] Panorama magazine on Tuesday [23 January]—the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution says that the Republicans violate the Constitution. What is the legal situation in our country?

[Plath] Our decisions cannot depend on whether the FRG Office for the Protection of the Constitution declares a party in that country to be in violation of the Constitution. According to our basic law, revanchism, racism, warmongering, and neofascist propaganda are actions hostile to the Constitution and are punishable offenses. We investigate corresponding suspicions.

Permitting a party to exist and checking its compatibility with the Constitution is the business of the appropriate organs of the Ministry of Internal Security.

[Funke] An example—"Mr Schoenhuber of Parchim"....

[Plath] Mr Gutbrodt has been sentenced five times in the past, among others for sexually abusing children. Since Tuesday investigations have been carried out against the resident Republican on the urgent suspicion of acts committed under Section 220, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code. The investigations consist of an interrogation, a search of his home, and an indictment, if the acts were committed.

[Funke] The aforementioned section says that punishment is leveled on whoever....

[Plath] ...makes public statements of a fascist, racist, militaristic, or revanchist character or uses, spreads, or puts up symbols of such character.

[Funke] What did the search of his home show?

[Plath] For instance, fliers and other materials were found.

[Funke] In TAGESSPIEGEL one could read that in Northrhine-Westphalia and in Hamburg the Republicans are observed with intelligence service means. Who is doing this in the GDR?

[Plath] You must not ask this question of the public prosecutor. Certain tasks are attributed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Funke] The local council has demanded a stated penalty in the case of Gutbrodt.

[Plath] Of course, every citizen can turn to the public prosecutor's office with information. The public prosecutor's office also investigates the matter if corresponding information is published in the press.

Ministry Rejects Statements

AU3001101690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Ministry of Interior Affairs Correction"]

[Text] As NEUES DEUTSCHLAND learned from the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the statements by Dieter Plath, deputy press spokesman of the prosecutor general (see NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 25 January 1990), that the Ministry of Internal Affairs permits parties and investigates whether they are in correspondence with the Constitution are incorrect. The decree of 6 November 1975 on the founding and activities of associations does not apply in this respect. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is responsible only for the recognition of associations by the state. Furthermore, it is to be noted that the Ministry of Internal Affairs does not use intelligence service means.

State Security Service Facility, Plans Revealed

AU3001125990 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Jan 90 p 5

[Werner Kahl report: "The State Security Service Maintains a Subterranean Command Bunker Near Wandlitz"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—Before the change in the GDR, the State Security Service built a subterranean command bunker of the dimensions of the East Berlin Palace of the Republic north of Berlin for the contingency of armed conflicts. The subterranean bunker, whose apartments were suspended by steel cables to protect them against vibrations, was built in 1986 for the leadership of the

Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the generals, and the Soviet Union's liaison officers for possible tensions and wars.

Responsible FRG authorities and security authorities of the laender were briefed on this information by members of the former Ministry for State Security who had gone to the West. So far the State Security Service's secret techniques for the security of the party leadership and the complete surveillance of the population were disclosed in the statements. The secret State Security planning was already aimed at the year 2000.

While, according to property manager Costrau, the "approximately seven to eight families" who still live in Wandlitz have to vacate the sealed-off residential district of the former SED leaders in early February, the command bunker at a distance of 12 km continues to be screened off as a state secret. The subterranean facilities are located between Biesenthal and Wandlitz south of the Eberswald glacial valley.

The bunker functions continue to be maintained by members of Department N of the former Ministry for State Security and its operational readiness is ensured. The facilities are safe in a war with nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons, former State Security officers admitted. Food depots and oxygen aggregates make it possible to stay in the bunker for several months in case of tensions.

According to reports now submitted to FRG authorities, in the past few years almost unlimited financial means were granted to the State Security Service for surveillance of the population and espionage in the West. In 1989 alone, personnel costs amounted to more than M800 million. New office facilities for more than 12,000 full-time employees were created.

According to well-informed circles in Bonn, the shock of realizing that the State Security Service is able to "completely forge" the new federal identity card and European passport, which were said to be impossible to forge was great. Together with the "Reconnaissance Main Administration," the GDR espionage apparatus, the operational-technical sector of the GDR Secret Service has already produced "perfect forgeries." The project to procure the special machinery required for the production of new identity documents and other details needed by the forgers was classifed as a "secret command action." According to findings of FRG counterintelligence, based on statements of former State Security members, the order was given "irrespective of the costs." However, they did not comment on the transfer of the expensive technologies. According to information acquired by DIE WELT, the costs for the machinery alone amount to approximately DM100 million (about M1 billion). The security authorities did not provide any information on the possible infiltration of GDR agents or their liaison men into the Federal Printing Office.

According to statements by former State Security experts, regardless of damage to people's health, the GDR State Security Service used X-rays on the transit highways to scan trucks and containers. [passage omitted on former Minister Mielke's plans for the 1990's]

Roundtable To Close Membership

LD2901181290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, the participants at the GDR central roundtable agreed not to consider any applications from further parties and groups for admission to the discussions. Applications that have already been made will be examined once more by the roundtable's priorities' group.

The head of this group, senior church councillor Martin Ziegler, recommended that applicants, if need be, have their interests taken care of by parties and groups already represented at the roundtable. He pointed to the danger that the admission of further participants could place in question the body's ability to function.

Ministry Reply to Soviet Paper on Troops

LD3001185790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Peter Laszlo report]

[Text] According to the Foreign Ministry's state secretary, today the Soviet Army's newspaper carried an article about the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. In Ferenc Somogyi's view, it is only the private opinion of the article's author that the withdrawal of troops would be premature [elsietett]. The state secretary feels that, with regard to the departure of Soviet troops deployed on a so-called temporary basis in our homeland for more than 3 decades, it is incomprehensible to speak about haste.

The state secretary for the Foreign Ministry expects the Soviet delegation to present the official Soviet stance at the bilateral negotiations, which begin 1 February.

Withdrawal Talks 1 Feb

LD3001133990 Budapest MTI in English 1224 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI)—Hungary and the Soviet Union are to launch talks on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in the country on Thursday.

MTI has learned from the Foreign Ministry that the first round of talks will last two days, and the Hungarian side will be putting forward the demand it formulated previously that the Soviet pullout should be completed this year.

The Hungarian delegation will be headed by Ferenc Somogyi, Hungarian state secretary of foreign affairs, and include Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, Chief of Staff, and Gyorgy Doro, Deputy President of the National Planning Office.

The Soviet delegation will be led by Ivan Aboimov, Deputy Foreign Minister, and composed of Bronislav Omelichev, First Deputy Chief of Staff, V. Sitnin, Deputy Finance Minister, and Colonel-General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary.

Shortfall in Oil Supplies From USSR

LD3001150390 Budapest MTI in English 1357 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The increasing number of problems the Soviet economy has to cope with has resulted in a situation where a growing number of products are failing to arrive in Hungary from the USSR.

In January, the amount of Soviet oil exports to Hungary fell about 110,000 tonnes short of target, and in the first quarter of the year, the shortfall is likely to amount to 350,000 tonnes: That is, only 17.98 per cent, not 25 per cent, of the 6.48 million tonnes of oil expected for the whole of 1990, is likely to come in the first three months. In January, a minimum of 500,000 tonnes of Soviet oil ought to have arrived in Hungary.

The talks Hungarian companies held with their Soviet partners in November and December last year on this year's Soviet oil deliveries to Hungary, still due under the long-term agreement in force till the end of 1990, have brought no concrete agreements. Soviet deliveries of oil to Hungary by the end of 1989 had fallen 100,000 tonnes short of the expected 6.48 million tonnes.

To make up for the missing quantities, the FTO Mineralimpex, backed by the Hungarian Government, have bought in 200,000 tonnes of crude oil from Iraq, which is to arrive at the end of the Adriatic pipeline in the next few days.

Iraqi oil is more expensive than Soviet: Soviet oil costs 113.5 rbls [roubles] a tonne (appr. 17 rbls/barrel), whilst Iraqi oil, being a stock exchange commodity, will probably cost 19,5 usd [U.S. dollars] a barrel (159 litres), plus shipping and reloading costs, and the costs of transport through the Adriatic pipeline.

As to when this year's agreement will be concluded with the Soviets, Ministry of Trade officials said they were not in a position to disclose any information.

In an attempt to save oil, exports to Nicaragua have been frozen: This is the first year Hungary will not be supplying the usual amount to Nicaragua—10,000 tonnes a year up to now. In December last year, the Hungarian parliament voted to halt 'internationalist' aid by Hungary to Nicaragua, Angola, Cuba, and other countries, which earlier cost Hungary 2-3 billion forints (40 million USD) a year.

Iraqi Oil To Start Flowing in Jan

LD1901183590 Budapest MTI in English 1321 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19, 1990 (MTI-Econews)—From January, Hungary is to start importing Middle East oil for domestic consumption.

Oil bought from Iraq is expected to start flowing to Hungary via the Adriatic pipeline by the end of January. The 200,000 tonnes of oil ordered by the Hungarian oil and gas trust will be delivered by tanker to the Yugoslavian island of Krk and from there, the Yugoslavia Naftavod oil transport company will send it to Hungary through the Adriatic pipeline.

Last year the pipeline was used to deliver 1.2 million tonnes of Soviet oil to Yugoslavia, but this is the first time since 1980 that Hungary has imported oil via this route.

Last year Hungary imported exclusively Soviet oil for domestic consumption but deliveries fell 150,000 tonnes short of the agreed target of 6.47 million tonnes.

The Soviets have promised to make up the shortfall. The 1990 quota in the 5-year Hungarian-Soviet oil agreement is 6.48 million tonnes, pending the signing of an interstate agreement on prices and new delivery contracts between the exporter and importer companies.

These delays, however, have not interrupted the flow of oil from the USSR, with 17.8 per cent of the annual quota to be delivered by the end of March.

Romania Agrees To Reopen Consulate

LD3001223190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Romania has agreed after all to reopen the Hungarian Consulate General in Cluj. According to a statement issued in Bucharest, this is not tied either to a date or to the simultaneous resumption of operations of the Romanian Consulate General in Debrecen.

Reportage on National Assembly Sessions

Securities Trade Bill Approved

LD2601204190 Budapest MTI in English 1207 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian parliament approved almost without debate the bill regulating the trade of securities and rules on the exchange of securities—an important element in a free market economy.

The various securities—bonds, shares, certificates of deposit and treasury bills—have come to play an increasing role in Hungary's economy in recent years, but the lack of an adequate legal framework has deterred investors, forcing parliament to introduce laws to regulate transactions.

The legislation has amended the law on personal income tax to give investors in securities considerable tax concessions, at the same time providing more guarantees to boost confidence and stability in the securities market.

With the current market lacking appropriate channels for a regular flow of information, there is practically no way of either assessing the risks involved in any potential investment or estimating the real value of papers in circulation, making the market susceptible to manipulation and insider trading.

The new law governs the issuing and public trading of bonds, shares and other securities and stipulates that investors be given regular access to such information as they may require to decide for or against a particular investment.

The new stock exchange will have an initial three year transitional period during which commercial banks and specialized financial institutes will still be allowed to operate there but at the end of which strict rules will be in place which will permit only broker firms to do so.

The government decided not to ban the banks immediately for fear of a probable collapse in the fragile securities market since currently the banks are doing the work of all but a few budding broker firms.

The law provides only general guarantees on the exchange's operations, leaving precise rules in the hands of the securities trading companies.

Press Law Discussed

LD2601204790 Budapest MTI in English 1545 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—After adopting the bill on discontinuing the forced medical treatment of alcoholics under a court decision, MPs [members of parliament] discussed the proposed amendment to the press law.

Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar reported on insufficient progress at the trilateral talks in determining the basic principles of the new law. It had become clear during preparatory work that the new law should be drafted by the new parliament, while there were also calls for changing certain provisions of the current press law, he said.

The proposed amendment draws the limits of the freedom of the press in compliance with the international covenant on civil and political rights. Accordingly, practicing the freedom of the press should not lead to crime or violate the personal rights of other people.

The proposal also makes it possible for private citizens to launch periodical newspapers, and local radio and television programmes. (The current law grants this right only to state, economic and social organizations.)

The justice minister said that the proposal was to allow—as a temporary solution until the relevant provisions of the civil code have been modified—imposing a fine usable for public purposes in case personal rights are violated in the press. On the other hand, parliament's legal, administrative and judicial committee argued it would be more justified for the offended persons to receive the sum fixed by the court as idemnification. The government expressed agreement with this proposal.

Sessions Resume 31 Jan

LD2601221790 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—Discussions over amending the press law were broken off in parliament on Friday, in view of the crowded agenda. Parliament then approved the bills on the protection of state assets, and the state asset-handling agency, and on individual enterprise.

In the following, Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament, proposed that MPs [members of parliament] not begin discussion of a new point on the agenda. The MPs agreed that debate on the bills not covered during the

current session will be continued next week, on Wednesday and Thursday, when parliament will again meet in session.

In the lunch break of the session on Friday, parliament's fourth work day, members of the government, officials of parliament, and the leaders of the standing committees and the political groups held a meeting under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Istvan Fodor. The discussion served to clarify the schedule of parliament's further activity.

As Mr Fodor told MTI, this conference decided to propose to the National Assembly that a decision about the bills over which parliament suspended the debate, or which were not discussed at the current session, be made on January 31. Participants of the conference also agreed that more than 20 points are to be included on the agenda of the next session, to open on February 27 and expected to last for four days.

Assembly Reconvenes

LD3001201890 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly is to continue its session on Wednesday, January 31, and MPs [members of parliament] are expected to discuss ten points on the agenda. The parliament session which opened on January 23 broke off last Friday and MPs were unable to complete discussions of the many points on the agenda over four days.

At the session on Wednesday and Thursday, MPs are to decide about the bill on the legal standing of parliamentary MPs, their fees and benefits, and on amending the press law.

The bill amending the family law will also be on the agenda. The amendment is to simplify the adoption procedure. The bill on the staff and annual budget of the State Audit Office will also be discussed.

Two similar independent moves by Mps, on setting up a parliamentary special committee, will also be discussed: that of MPs Zoltan Kiraly and Erno Raffay from Csongrad County, and the motion of Csaba Hamori, MP on the national list. Both motions aim at determining the persons who are legally and morally responsible for the country's current situation, although the proposed task and scope of investigation of the examining committee differ somewhat under the two motions. Some 30 interpellations and questions are also expected to be discussed.

Hamori Addresses Assembly

LD3101101990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Speech by Deputy Csaba Hamori at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly. With regard to the reports coming from Romania, I would like our National Assembly to make a statement on the Romanian events and the situation concerning the Hungarian nationality. It is a question of a brief statement. I would like to read it out, and I propose that the Foreign Affairs Committee finalize the text and submit it to the National Assembly. I ask if I may read out the draft statement. [Acting Speaker Robertne Jakab says: yes]

Thank you. The National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic greeted with gladness the Romanian revolution and the overthrow of Ceausescu's dictatorship. The Hungarian Republic supported the National Salvation Front from the minutes of its birth, in its endeavors aimed at creating a democratic Romania.

For this very reason we cannot remain silent about the fact that the most recent Romanian events are giving rise to certain anxieties in our country. We have to note with regret that even these days political influence is in the hands of forces which have learned from the past and which continue to strive to curb the Romanian minorities' individual and collective rights.

We know that the National Salvation Front Council has done a lot to eliminate crimes of the past, the restrictions that afflicted the minorities. We believe that the Hungarian minority rightly demands that the conditions for being taught in the mother tongue, of cultural autonomy, be created as soon as possible, and that it justifiably rejects the accusations that the struggle waged for these minority rights represents separatism.

We hope that the National Salvation Front will continue to take a determined stand for the realization of individual and collective rights of every Romanian minority, thus also of Magyardom.

This is my proposal. Thank you for your attention.

[Following the speech, acting speaker R. Jakab says: I also thank you. My fellow deputies: I move that we adopt the proposal of our fellow deputy, Csaba Hamori, according to which the Foreign Affairs Committee should discuss the statement today and should submit it to parliament, in duplicate copies, of course, so that we can all read it. Does the parliament agree with this? I only want a verbal assent. (deputies shout: yes!) Yes. Thank you very much.]

MTI Reports Session Agenda

LD3101122890 Budapest MTI in English 1150 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament resumed its January session afer a four-day interval on Wednesday, and went straight into discussing a bill on the legal status, remuneration, reimbursement and privileges of MPS [members of parliament].

The current session is to discuss bills on amendments to the press law and the family law, and on the staff and

annual budget of the state audit office. Parliament is to pass resolutions on military policy issues and state support to election candidates.

In the wake of popular initiatives, parliament will decide whether a law on interest representation should be passed and the laws on personal income tax and corporate profit tax amended. The agenda will also include motions, personnel proposals, interpellations and MPS' questions.

The session is being attended by the two-thirds quorum required for passing constitutional laws.

Land Rights To Be Restored to Former Owners

LD3001125290 Budapest MTI in English 1200 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A Hungarian parliament decision last week will give back former owners of land rights to their property. Land currently farmed by cooperatives but still belonging to individuals according to land registry records, will be returned to the attested owners.

Cooperatives farm 5.5 million hectares of Hungary's total farmland of 9.3 million hectares. But they have actually paid the original owners redemption for 3.5 million hectares only, and even then at ridiculously low prices. The remainder is officially still the property of private individuals.

The amendment to the land law approved by parliament last week terminates the practice of redemption and rules that cooperative farmers be given free control of the 2 million hectares of land still in their ownership.

The amended law also rules that land the farms have already paid compensation for should remain their property, and leaves the question of what the cooperative wishes to do with it to a decision by majority vote of the cooperative assembly.

In doing this, parliament rejected some members' proposals to freeze the sale and purchase of farmland, as well as putting paid to suggestions that cooperatives should pay further amounts of compensation to the original owners of land whose arms were twisted to give up their land, although the government admitted that these people would be fully within their rights to claim further damages. The minister of agriculture and food, Mr Csaba Hutter, cooled tempers by pointing out that the country simply could not afford to pay up, since even the most modest calculations put the amount of damages in the region of 70 billion forints ($1.2 billion).

Were the farms compelled to pay out compensation in the form of rent arrears, this, too, would amount to at least 42 billion forints. Whereas the total profits of farming enterprises worked out to just 17 billion forints last year.

Also, if the farms were made to pay compensation, they in turn would be forced to put up food prices by another 32 per cent, and this on top of the steep rises earlier this month.

Demonstration Supports TU Demands

LD2901200390 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Some 30 thousand persons are estimated to have rallied near the parliament building on Monday afternoon, in response to the demonstration called by the trade unions. In his address, Laszlo Paszternak, president of the Federation of Iron Workers' Trade Unions spoke of the dissatisfaction of workers owing to deteriorating living conditions, and the growing threat of unemployment. Although he was not initially preparing to hold a speech, Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, also addressed demonstrators saying that in past weeks and months he had been holding discussions about the trade union demands in the parliament building on several occasions, but to no avail. The government must recognise the endeavours of the trade unions, and should come to an early agreement with workers' representatives, because it serves to nobody's interest to hold strikes in the country.

At the end of the demonstration, workers' demands were again formulated, which also includes a ten per cent wage increase (or a minimum 500 forints raise) and that the amount of the social security and social services should be increased by an additional 200 forints, with effect from January 1, and that the value of the minimum wage should be fixed at 5,100 forints.

TU Council Urges No Strike Before Elections

LD3001175990 Budapest MTI in English 1458 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI)—In the run-up to the parliamentary elections, workers belonging to trade unions should not take part in general strikes—the ultimate means of economic struggle—in the interest of a peaceful transition. This is what the Coordinating Council of Hungarian Trade Unions is proposing, the National Council of Trade Unions (NCTU) said at their Tuesday press conference.

It was noted at the briefing that the Monday demonstration near parliament—called by the Iron Workers' Trade Union and featuring several tens of thousands of workers—was initiated by the membership, and originally scheduled for January 22, prior to the first parliamentary session of the year. The sectoral trade union shares the view of the NCTU that disputes should be settled at negotiating tables and not on the streets. The membership was therefore persuaded to postpone the strike action to January 29.

The possibility that leaders of the Iron Workers' Trade Union might use the demonstration to facilitate their own election campaign, bearing in mind that 14 of its leaders are running in the March 25 parliamentary elections, was also raised at the press briefing. Several leaders of other sectoral trade unions, including the NCTU, will also be running in the campaign. Exactly how many is not yet known, because they are running not only as party candidates, but also as independent nominees. The NCTU's current president, Sandor Nagy, will be running as an independent MP with the backing of the coordination council. Explaining the motive for his candidature, Mr Nagy explained he wishes to form an independent trade union faction in parliament for the better interest representation of workers.

It was also disclosed at the briefing that the national congress of Hungarian Trade Unions will be held between March 1 and 4, where the proposal for the formation of the national federation of Hungarian trade unions is also due to be tabled.

Under this proposal, the NCTU would be replaced by a democratic organisation building on workers' initiatives, which would be founded on the voluntary association of independent professional trade unions according to the federation's statutes currently under elaboration. The federation is to operate with a limited central apparatus which will be independent of parties.

Calls for Government Dialogue

LD3001221690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Summary] "The National Coordination Council of Trade Unions [SzOKT] has urged in a letter to Premier Miklos Nemeth the soonest possible substantive dialogue between the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] and the government."

The SZOT spokesman said that a new national federation is intended to be set up at the March trade union congress. The draft statute, which rejects the principle of democratic centralism, will be ready by the congress, and the size of the leading apparatus will also be reduced.

"According to the draft it will be a qualified majority vote, which will be empowered to decide to call a strike."

Thurmer Rejects MSZMP Blame for Mistakes

LD2101220690 Budapest MTI in English 1814 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, jan 21 (MTI)—Dissociating itself from past errors but accepting the values of socialism, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP/MSZMP] has a chance of standing its ground in the elections despite the existing difficulties, national President Gyula Thurmer told a county election rally in Bekescsaba on Sunday.

Gyula Thurmer rejected accusations that the present plight of Hungary is due to socialism, and added that it was precisely the lack of socialism when bureaucracy began to flourish, when the party gave wrong answers to challenges from the world and the economy, or when the Communists failed to find apt leaders. He said those who think that socialism faces a crisis were gravely mistaken.

The new HSWP, Thurmer said, had not become an extremist, ultra-radical party, but it cannot accept the open anti-communist and anti-leftist campaign going on Hungary. He blamed both the Socialist Party and the government for giving way to "capitalist restauration" in the economy.

14th MSZMP Congress Holds Second Session

Session Opens

LD2701171490 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—The second session of the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP/MSZMP] opened on Saturday in Budapest, with the participation of some 800 delegates. The first session was held on December 17, 1989.

The congress is to discuss and approve the party's political manifesto, and delegates are to be informed on the preparations for the elections.

The draft of the document on the agenda evaluates the events of the recent past, and takes a stand for the idea of democratization, all the more so as this was initiated, on pressure from the membership, by the HSWP of that time. The document calls attention to the fact that the issue today is increasingly not democratization, but a shift towards the right-wing, bourgeois restoration, the realistic danger of restoring capitalist conditions. The party raises its voice against unemployment, which serves capitalist interests, and calls for a change in structure that keeps the interests of all society in view.

The draft takes a stand for the majority of common property, and also discusses the party's agrarian programme: Contrary to several other parties, the HSWP proposes to uphold the cooperatives, and to more efficiently cultivate the land, mainly by improving the infrastructure of agriculture.

Adopts Appeal, Statement

LD2701224290 Budapest MTI in English 1920 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—As reported, the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP/MSZMP] continued its conference begun last December 17, in Budapest on Saturday.

In his introduction, HSWP president Gyula Thurmer said that community society, socialism cannot be eliminated once and for all. In his view, the HSWP is the only

party in this region of Europe which does not reject Marxism, the left-wing socialist and communist ideas.

In his speech, Thurmer gave great emphasis to the intensification of political tension. He said incitement against the communists, and left-wing forces, threats, the persecution of individual people, is openly carried out. The opposition parties are inciting tension, and wish to create a mood of fear and threat for the elections.

With respect to the elections, he warned the congress that bourgeois forces that enjoy major foreign support are openly demanding the restoration of capitalist relations, under the pretext of eliminating bureaucratic socialism. In his view, bourgeois restoration is not inevitable, the rule of money can be avoided, in the interest of which the firm stand of the renewed HSWP and the cooperation of the left-wing forces is necessary.

Many contributors to the debate on the political statement heatedly criticized those who make the average members of the communist movement responsible for the errors of the past. They rejected the accusations which brand the communists as fascists.

The congress approved the election appeal, and the party's political statement, which are to be published in the coming days.

Thurmer's Remarks

LD2801055990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] concluded its 14th Congress today which was interrupted in December. Peter Szorenyi reports:

[Begin Szorenyi recording] Socialism is not at fault in the problems and troubles we now face, MSZMP chairman Gyula Thurmer said this morning. He believes that the crisis has come from abroad, because the developed capitalist states have foisted their own difficulties on us. We, however, have been unable to pass these on. Because of this, the communist party, although it has made mistakes in the leadership, has not altered its principled policy.

Otherwise, the chairman cautioned against capitalist restoration because this will only result in unemployment and poverty. Perhaps for precisely this reason several delegates believe that the current government wants to pass power into the international bourgeoisie's hands. This by all means must be prevented, and this is why a successful election performance will be important for the communists, said Central Committee Secretary Laszlo Udvarhelyi. He said that after the March elections, there will be either a petty bourgeois dictatorship or a geniune people's democracy in our country. [end recording]

Congress Ends; No Coalition Planned

LD2801061590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] today concluded the congress, which it broke off in December. The intention to create a left-wing bloc was discussed at the congress, yet the possible partners are still being sought. Peter Szorenyi reports:

[Begin Szorenyi recording] [Passage omitted] The delegates are not satisfied with the current leadership's economic policy. They especially criticized the unjustified selling off of communal property. There were some who proposed that a luxury tax be introduced for the rich, so that in this manner it would be possible to improve pensioners' living conditions. The communists disagree with the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] decision on former party property, which was made without asking them, but they do not want to get involved in a lawsuit. Indeed, Gyula Thurmer said that it cannot be our goal to weaken the HSP.

True, and this emerged at the press briefing after the congress. They do not want to enter a coalition in the first round of elections. However, in order to stop the rightwing, it appears expedient to create a left-wing bloc.

Otherwise, the congress adopted an election appeal, and it gave its blessing to the party's political statement, which has just been prepared. Thus, in his closing speech Gyula Thurmer was able to call the 14th MSZMP Congress a success. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Arrives in Strasbourg 29 Jan

LD2901211190 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, Jan. 29—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in Strasbourg, the headquarters of the Council of Europe, tonight. At the airport, he was greeted by President of the Council's Parliamentary Assembly Anders Bjoerk.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki is the guest of the Council of Europe and will address its Parliamentary Assembly tomorrow. He will also hold talks with leading personalities of the Council.

This is the first visit by the head of Polish Government to the Council of Europe, organization set up in 1949 as a response to the danger of the Stalinist totalitarianism.

Tonight, Premier Mazowiecki took part in a gala dinner given in his honour by President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Anders Bjoerk. Present were Secretary General of the Council of Europe Catherine Lalumiere and President of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Joao de Deus Pinheiro.

It is expected in Strasbourg that Tadeusz Mazowiecki will officially propose Poland's candidacy to the Council of Europe during his Tuesday's address in the forum of the Parliamentary Assembly.

Addresses Council of Europe

LD3001175390 Warsaw PAP in English 1316 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Premier Mazowiecki's Address to Council of Europe (Abridged)—PAP headline]

[Text] Strasbourg, Jan. 30—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki delivered a speech to the Council of Europe here today in connection with Poland's application to be included in the council's composition. Excerpts:

Europe is going through an unusual time. Half of the continent, broken off from the mother stock almost half a century ago, wants to return to it. Perhaps, a return to Europe is too weak a term to describe the process we are going through. We should speak rather about a rebirth of Europe which has in fact stopped to exist since the Yalta settlements.

My presence among you is a sign of that rebirth. It is a sign of rebirth of the European feeling of community and solidarity which were too often forgotten in recent decades.

I think about those who loudly and openly protested against acts of violence such as the invasions of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968. I also have in mind a multitude of our Western friends who brought moral and material assistance to us after the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981.

Poles are the nation aware of their European status, of their European character. Europe has always been a point of reference while answering questions on our identity. Europe, which Poles felt guardians of, which they loved. For three centuries, alive was in Poland the ideology of the bulwark of Christianity, that is the bulwark of Europe.

In Europe, we still perceive value, The motherland of freedom and law, and we continue to strongly identify ourselves with Europe. We still nurse some grievances towards Europe—for the acceptance of Yalta, division of Europe, and leaving us on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

I think we have a lot to offer to Europe. Both our strength and weakness are our contribution to Europe.

We are like a man recovering from a severe illness. For years we were under a terrible strain of the totalitarian pressure and we endured it. We are still convalescents. Our economy has found itself in the state of crisis from which we are pulling it out. State democratic institutions are being rebuilt and restored. But we have experiences which we will not forget and which we will pass on to others.

If we managed to survive as a community, we owe it, among other things, to our deep attachment to some institutions and to certain values of the European standard. we owe it to religion and to the church, to the attachment to democracy and pluralism, to human rights and to civic freedoms, to the idea of solidarity.

Application for Council's Membership

Today we apply for the membership in the Council of Europe.

With such a great contribution to defending human rights and freedoms, being a remarkable hotbed of European ideas and initiatives, the Council of Europe seems a proper place for the presence of Poland which did a lot for the defence of these rights and freedoms.

After a many-decade interval, we face in Poland an enormous task to restore the rights and institutions of a modern democracy and market economy.

The government, I am the head of for nearly five months now, has brought about the adoption of as well as prepared numerous laws forming a legal framework for the independence of courts, freedom of the press and gathering, freedom of forming political parties, local self-governments whose authentic shape is to be restored soon in the forthcoming communal elections. We are working on a new constitution of the Republic of Poland which will be a democratic state of law and order.

Since the beginning of this year we have been implementing a very difficult economic programme aimed not only at eliminating inflation but also at creating foundations for a modern market economy based on the tested institutions of the developed European countries.

In cooperation with our partners from the CMEA we have also started work on deep reform of that institution.

We would not like to form closed integration associations separated from the rest of the world not only with borders but with tariff barriers as well. We would not like to do that in order to avoid the Europe in which political walls would be replaced with economic ones.

Problem of German Reunification

Like the Berlin Wall, up till recent times being a symbol of the division in Europe, was a material barrier dividing Germany into two states. Also its fall puts the problem of Germany reunification on the agenda providing a chance for the European unity.

Nobody can deny any nation the right to live in one state community. But the Germany division resulted from a great catastrophe caused by the Nazi state which claimed lives of tens of millions of people.

It is not surprising though that today when a prospect for restoration of the German state unity emerges, the memory of that castrophy arouses concern unerased even by the obvious and important counterarguments, for instance that the situation in Europe is different today and that Germany are also different.

We recognize the arguments. But the concern should be understood and it should be dispersed with solving the German question in agreement with all sides concerned and in the way which would give in advance a reliable feeling of security, the sense of the inviolability of the Polish Western border in particular, to all who need that.

Challenges and Threats

The changes in Central Europe and in the Soviet Union bring about great chances but they are not free from threats either. In a number of countries advocates of the old order have lost their grip on the course of events though they can still interfere with it. In other (countries) they are on the defensive but they have neither lost hope nor ability to regain their position. A threat of another kind is a possibility of "Balkanization" of a part of the European Continent or even of particular countries due to sharp tensions between particular nations or states having their sources in the presence and in the past.

But the processes going on in Central and Eastern Europe, though abounding in threats, are first of all an unusual historical challenge. Although it is an obvious thing that they are above all a challenge for us in Central Europe, they are also a historical challenge and task for the whole of Europe.

The wall between the free Europe and the subjugated Europe has already been destroyed. Now a ditch between the poor Europe and the rich Europe has to be filled. If Europe is to be a common home in which doors are not closed before one another such deep differences cannot be maintained.

Europe 1993 and Europe 2000

If we witness the formation of Europe of 1993 in your part of the continent, why should we not think about the whole Europe of 2000? What can this Europe, realistically imaginable, be like if we pool our efforts?

Certainly it will not yet be a Europe of free space for commodities, capitals and people, but it can be a Europe with considerably lowered tariff and border barriers, fully opened for youth. Such will be the future of our continent as Europeans we will bring up together. [sentence as received]

It may be a Europe with richer contacts among artists and scientists conducive to penetration and thus to rapprochement of national cultures.

It will not be a Europe of the common currency, but it may be a Europe of concurrent economies, of living standards more equal than today and or rich multilateral turnover.

It may also be a Europe of clean atmosphere, wholesome water and unpolluted soil. A Europe ecologically clean.

But first of all it has to be a Europe of decisive progress in disarmament.

When one thinks about it, there are still many fields of social life which can be better arranged in the last decade of the Twentieth Century. One need but start work on them.

There are already structures on our continent in which such work can proceed because it has been proceeding and for a long time at that. The Council of Europe is precisely one of them.

Council of European Cooperation

I think that the time has already come to put to detail the idea of a "common home" and "European confederation," promoted by outstanding statesmen of late. The time has come for institutions really encompassing all of Europe to be set up.

Perhaps other Central and East European countries will be able to join the Council soon. That is why I would like to repeat the initiative which I recently forwarded in our parliament: the initiative of seting up a Council of European Cooperation covering all the countries which signed the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

This council would have two tasks: first, to prepare summit meetings of CSCE states, second, to discuss current all- European problems in periods between regular meetings of representatives of CSCE states. We trust that this way the CSCE process would gain new impetus which it needs and at the same time it would facilitate the implementation of further initiatives covering our continent and aiming at its unity.

Strasbourg—City of Hope

I speak to you from Strasbourg, the capital of Europe. A city which like our country frequently was under pressure from the winds of history. A city which passed from one side to another many a time and also put the question of its own identity. This is at the same time a city, the capital of a region which was disputed for a thousand years, a city heavily tried by the revolution, today is an oasis of peace and prosperity. The dispute has ended almost before our own eyes. This city is a symbol of hope for us, people from Central Europe where echoes of disputes resurface. All of Europe today faces a historic challenge of restoring its unity. Whether we meet this challenge depends on us and you.

More than a year ago Pope John Paul 2 told the parliamentary assembly of this council: "Member countries of your council are aware that they do not constitute all of Europe. I express an ardent wish that I could be able to witness a strengthening of the cooperation with other countries. Particularly in the Central- Eastern part, outlined here, and am convinced that I express the wishes of millions of men and women aware of the ties of a common history and pinning hope on unity and solidarity worthy of this continent." When the Pope uttered those words no one presumed that an advantageous situation would surface so soon and the wish will start coming true.

Among the many symbols of this city on the facade of the Strasbourg cathedral are the biblical wise and unwise maids. Let us resemble the wise maids. Let us recognize the emergence of a special historic circumstance and let us be ready to accept it. Let us correctly recognize the challenge we are facing: Let us be wise, bold and farsighted.

Labor Minister Kuron Meets With Kohl in Bonn

LD3001022190 Warsaw PAP in English 0000 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bonn, Jan, 29—Poland's Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron, now on a visit to the FRG, was received here today by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Jacek Kuron, the first minister of the Mazowiecki government who is paying an official visit to his FRG counterpart Norbert Bluem, held a talk with the chancellor which lasted two times longer than plannned. Minister Kuron told the chancellor about the course of the process of reforms in Poland.

Kuron stressed that despite material burden, the Polish nation firmly supported the Mazowiecki government. Chancellor Kohl assured the Polish minister that the Federal Government would firmly support—also in future—the process of Polish reforms.

The chancellor asked Kuron to convey sincere greetings to Prime Minister Mazowiecki and again invited the Polish premier to pay a visit to the FRG this year.

Arms Trade With Ethiopia Reported

AU3001085890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Jan 90 p 1

[Stanislaw Turnau article: "The Seamen, Eritrea, and the Kalashnikovs"]

[Text] GAZETA WYBORCZA has waited until the crew of the cargo ship Krzywousty—held prisoner from 3 January by the Eritrean partisans, who are at war with the Ethiopian Army—were safely released before publishing the following information.

On 12 January, a plane full of arms and munitions took off from Warsaw Airport bound for Ethiopia. At precisely that time, representatives of Polish Ocean Lines and the Foreign Affairs Ministry were meeting with the families of the Krzywousty seamen and giving assurances that they were doing everything possible to ensure a safe and speedy return of the captured crew. The loading of the wide-bodied jet with the name "Ethiopian" clearly marked on its fuselage had been observed by many Polish Airlines personnel based at Warsaw Airport.

"Friday's consignment was one of three contracted shipments due for delivery during this period, and it is regrettable that the loading was not done at night. The next two consignments have been halted," explained Krzysztof Plominski, a director in the Consular Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A similar consignment was loaded at Warsaw Airport a week earlier, and the whole operation was clearly visible from the public viewing gallery. At that time, the Polish seamen had already been in the hands of the Eritreans for over 24 hours.

"The Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation has responsibility for our arms trade," stated Plominski. A Foreign Ministry spokesman elaborated: "We regret the incident, but the minister's license permitting trade in arms is held by the Central Engineering Board." Director Pawluczuk of the Central Engineering Board explained: "In fact, we should have called the plane back, but this is a highly profitable business, and we should not put a stop to it. If you publish details of our arms trade with Ethiopia, it might cause an upheaval. It now seems very likely that licenses will be granted directly to various enterprises. These firms, contrary to the trading practice of my enterprise, might act against the interests of the Polish state. Trading in arms is an organizational and not a moral problem, although, as a human being, I do sometimes have my reservations."

During the past two years, the value of our arms sales to Ethiopia has amounted to $8.3 million. We expect to receive $2.5 million for the last few shipments, including those lately observed at Warsaw Airport. These figures were confirmed by the Central Engineering Board.

Polish merchant ships transport arms throughout the world's oceans. These arms are not exclusively manufactured in Poland. Many sealed containers with "undeclared contents" are picked up by our ships at West European ports.

One of the directors at the Foreign Ministry explained to me that the arms trade is highly profitable for Poland: Poland is in the process of reducing its military strength, and the armaments sold abroad would be unsuitable for use in our civilian sector; therefore, in this way we are helping to get rid of the problem and are being well paid for it.

SDRP Congress Welcomes Social Democratic Union

LD3001023890 Warsaw PAP in English 0141 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The organizing committee of the Congress of Polish Social Democracy which is composed of the association—Socialist Labour Union, the Torun Social Democratic Initiative, and the Polish Socialist Labour Party—issued today an appeal which reads in part:

Tendencies of various organizational structures and groups to define themselves as social democracy are recently growing stronger. Not all of them have an appropriate title in their origin, programmatic thought and composition. This is another farce on the Polish political scene.

Against this background one should welcome with recognition the establishing of the Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland [SDRP]. We welcome in the ranks of genuine social democracy the formation led by Tadeusz Fiszbach.

We fully uphold our stance of January 20 on convening an open congress of Polish social democracy. Only such a congress would create programmatic, political and organizational premises of the unity of forces coming out in favour of a third road of development—of the unity of Polish social democracy.

Further on Congress

LD3001113490 Warsaw PAP in English 1005 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 30: The founding congress of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland resumed debates this morning.

The delegates passed a resolution to set up a theoretical periodical devoted to the problems of social democracy in Poland and the world. Mieczyslaw Rakowski was vested with organizing and editing the periodical.

Kwasniewski Speech

LD3001204290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Closing speech by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, at its founding congress in Warsaw on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] Unfortunately, we have left this hall divided, but, in my opinion, the division which has occurred does not block the roads to dialogue among us, to accord, to the search for common values. The accusation is made against us that all we have done in the Congress Hall over the past few days is just to repaint the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. We are the people who transformed Poland, who created the roundtable, who came out in favor of profound reforms, and who today want to promote those great Polish reforms. This party will soon be faced with the necessity of making a declaration on the situation in Poland. We will soon be holding a very serious discussion in the parliamentary floor group, which until now was the PZPR floor group. Consequences will result from that, of course.

We must think about what the new party's attitude toward the government should be. Poland needs a government with a broad coalition. Poland needs a government that has broad public support. For this reason, while retaining our own identity, retaining the right to criticism, I would like us to accept the fact that it is our supra-party, that it is its social, national, and state duty to support those government activities which serve to overcome the crisis, which serve the democratic transformations, serve the creation of a democratic order in Poland.

We must find a way to reach the young generation. The Solidarity ethos, the ethos of August 1980 is the ethos of a different generation than the one that is at secondary school and at university today. We have to reach these young people and show that a rational political road, the values of the left, can also be attractive to them. I believe we will get this kind of support from the young people.

Resolution on Assets, Cooperation

LD3001203390 Warsaw PAP in English 1927 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Resolution of Social Democracy"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 30—The Supreme Board of the SDRP, Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, meeting halfway the interest of public opinion, and in order to avoid conflicts and social tension over the distribution of the assets of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR]:

1. Decided to set up a commission, empowering it join the work of the commission set up by the government to review the matter of the assets of political parties.

At the same time it declares a will of open, constructive cooperation with the government commission in the hope that the matter will be reviewed urgently and comprehensively.

2. The Supreme Board expresses a conviction that everything which was created due to the efforts of the people of the left should continue to serve the whole contemporary Polish left and empowers the commission set up by it to hold talks on the matter with other left-wing organizations.

Supreme Council Composition

LD3001203890 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, January 30—The Supreme Board of the SDRP, Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, which was set up today, numbers 150 people, 97 of whom were elected directly at the congress.

One seat in the Supreme Board falls ex-officio to its chairman, one to the general secretary, and one to a representative of the parliamentary floor group. 50 seats are allotted to representatives of respective voivodship teams and delegates of the Armed Forces elected in another procedure.

Among the 97 members of the Supreme Board, representatives of the July 8th Movement make up the most clear group numbering 27, among them its leader Leszek Jaskiewicz, Tomasz Nalecz and Zbigniew Siemiatkowski.

Deputies of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] parliamentary floor group also constitute an important group (13) among those elected.

The 97 elected members of the chief council include 8 members of the former PUWP CC [Central Committee], including only one member of the former Political Bureau Zbigniew Sobotka. Leszek Miller, the other Political Bureau member, entered the board ex officio as the general secretary.

Ireneusz Sekula won the greatest number of votes: 895, Wieslaw Olszewski the least: 317. The following did not win enough votes to see them through to the board: Jerzy Majka (310), Waldemar Swirgon (305), Bogdan Poreba (285), Zdzislaw Balicki (258).

An average of 2 candidates ran for each seat in the Supreme Board.

Congress Ends

LD3001143990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] This morning in Warsaw, the founding congress of the SDRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] resumed its deliberations. Over to the Congress Hall and our reporter, Antoni Mielniczuk:

[Mielniczuk] Welcome, the concrete [reference to party hardliners] has been cut out, stated one of the participants of the SDRP congress, commenting on the results of the elections to the Supreme Council. Among others: Janusz Kubasiewicz, Jerzy Majka, and Bogdan Poreba were not approved. Most votes were given to Ireneusz Sekula, who also received resounding applause.

Among the highest authorities, those elected are mainly young people, without a past but with enthusiasm. All 60 candidates recommended by Aleksander Kwasniewski were approved. The Supreme Council during today's meeting, which went on for longer than was expected, appointed plenipotentiaries for organizational and technical matters, who will support the voivodship team of delegates. Congress participants collected z 12,572,722 for the new party's fund.

The Supreme Council also stressed that it was necessary to create initiative groups as soon as possible and also discussed the matter of party property. It was stated that the property of the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] should serve all parties of the left.

At the conclusion of the congress, Supreme Council Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski took the floor and said, among other things, that an evaluation of the PZPR demands an objective and historical point of view, which can only take place after some time has passed.

Concerning divisions, some of the delegates created the Social Democratic Union and some totally gave up their membership in parties with social democratic platforms. The division does not cut off the road to dailogue, nor does it preclude efforts to reach agreement. The party sees the need to become part of the Polish reality and to define its attitude toward the government. Aleksander Kwasniewski said: We want to cooperate with President Wojciech Jaruzelski very closely, (?thus) guaranteeing the changes in a noncombative manner.

Today's goal is to win over people to the SDRP, and the category of the party supporter is more important than membership itself. The deliberations ended at 1151 [1051 GMT] with the singing of the National Anthem.

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to Kwasniewski, Miller

LD3001214890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a letter to Aleksander Kwasniewski and Leszek Miller. It says, among other things: The Left, being an integral component of Poland's public life, will undoubtedly make its contribution to ensuring a stable development of friendly Poland along the road of democracy, social justice, and progress.

Jaruzelski Receives Kwasniewski, Miller

LD3001202390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] At Belweder, the leaders of the new political group [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic]—Aleksander Kwasniewski and Leszek Miller—briefed Wojciech Jaruzelski on the progress and results of the founding congress. The president, pointing out the nature of his office, which places its interests above individual parties, emphasized his permanent links with the Polish left. He wished the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic success in winning public confidence and in its daily work in the interests of the state.

Documents Discrediting PZPR Found in Tarnow

LD3001205490 Warsaw PAP in English 1917 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Tarnow, Jan. 30—Journalists were briefed on the established destruction of PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] files and finding many documents discrediting the Tarnow PUWP Voivodship Committee in its building during today's press conference organized by the district organization of the Confederation of Independent Poland here in connection with the occupation of the already mentioned building on January 25-27.

The documents concern cooperation of the committee with the security services and the voivodship interior affairs office. These are descriptions registering all ceremonies of the opposition groupings and studying the present political alignment. Surprising are documents approving persons at managerial posts in the area of education over the past two months and documents showing an influence on illegal freeing of people from military service.

Taking part in the conference, Senator Andrzej Fenrych said that he had tabled a motion with the regional prosecutor's office concerning the prosecution of people guilty of the illegal action of destroying PUWP documents that should be stored in registry offices.

Jaruzelski Warns Against Political Conflicts

AU2901081790 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Statement Made by the Spokesman of the President of the Polish Republic"]

[Text] PAP—On 22 January, the presidential press spokesman made the following statement to PAP:

"In all matters pertaining to the legislative process, the president of the Polish Republic adheres to the Constitution and his rights and obligations, which are contained in the Constitution. It is the president's intention to support initiatives and activities that strengthen national agreement and defuse conflicts by seeking compromise solutions that serve the wider interests of the Polish Republic, a state that is governed according to the rule of law and principles of social justice.

The president advocates pluralism and the principle of treating all sociopolitical structures with equity. At the same time, the president believes that one must firmly counteract all attempts to fan the flames of political antagonism, emotion, and to create faits accomplis, and flout the law.

The president also believes that draft legislation proposals should be elaborated and deliberated with great care. In the president's opinion, the council of parliamentary elders—the body which facilitates joint action between parliamentary clubs and groups of deputies—has a very important role to play here by ensuring that this happens and that there is coordination in the matter of any controversial draft legislative proposals. This applies to the matters that are currently before the Sejm, and, specifically, to the issue of property ownership by political parties. The president is hopeful that a positive solution in this matter—one that serves the national interest—is found.

Belgian Daily Interviews Mazowiecki on Aid

LD3001202290 Warsaw PAP in English 1803 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, Jan. 30—Today's edition of the Belgian daily LIECHO DE LA BOURSE carried an interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Asked for the evaluation of assistance granted to Poland by 24 states (Action Phare) the premier said, i.a.:

The Polish Government sees as positive the fact that words changed into deeds. A vital issue for us was the creation of the stabilization fund as well as the introduction of other solutions, dealing with guaranteed credits. I believe that we are entering into a new phase of that assistance, in which heads of enterprises should show more active interest in taking advantage of those possibilities.

We see this sphere of problems through the prism of bolder initiatives, which should lead towards the annulment of a considerable part of our debt. I believe that this is a basic question and we are awaiting bold initiatives aimed at this direction on the part of Western governments for one has to realise that history has greatly accelerated in Poland. I believe for this reason that the rapprochement in the entire Europe should also experience a similar acceleration, said Mazowiecki.

Presidential Spokesman on Legislative Process

LD2201230190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The presidential spokesman issued a statement that in all legislative matters the president will abide by the Constitution, which defines his powers and duties. The president advocates pluralism and equal treatment for all sociopolitical components. At the same time, his

position is that it is necessary to oppose consistently the instigation of political antagonism and emotional upheaval , the creation of faits accomplis, and violations of the law.

The president also believes, the statement continues, that draft laws should be worked out and assessed with careful consideration. Among the activities of the Sejm's Council of Elders, he sees a significant role for ensuring such behavior which, as a body contributing to the cooperation of deputies floor groups and circles, leads to agreements in the subject of controversial draft laws. This also concerns matters which are currently on the Sejm's agenda, and especially those concerning assets belonging to political parties. The president hopes that in this respect a constructive solution, serving national peace, will be found.

Ambroziak Explains Government Commission's Work

LD3001210890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Statement by Jacek Ambroziak, head of the Polish Council of Ministers Office; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] As chairman of the government commission, appointed by the Council of Ministers at the request of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and which is to establish the legal status of the political parties' and youth organizations' assets and to recover state property, I would like to explain that our commission has bugun vigorous work. The commission has held talks with representatives of the former Polish United Workers Party and will hold talks with representatives of the Democratic Party and the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth, which is the successor to the United Peasants Party. The purpose of our commission is to disclose and recover the assets which, during the preceding period, have been rashly—and at times unlawfully—handed over for the use of parties and youth organizations. Our commission would like to report on its actions to the Sejm and to the public by 31 March this year.

At the same time, I would like to express disapproval of all these arbitrary actions by various public groups which are occupying party and youth organizations' buildings. We do not think this serves the interests of public peace or public order. It also interferes with the work of our commission. We shall effectively oppose any such arbitrary actions.

Janicki Optimistic About Stabilization Program

LD2501232890 Warsaw PAP in English 1642 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25: Speaking to PAP about the current economic situation, Vice-Premier and Agriculture Minister Czeslaw Janicki displayed optimism and stressed that the programme of stabilization now under implementation in Poland offers a chance of extinguishing inflation.

He also said he was well aware of the problems the programme created for the farmers, but added that government subsidies to fertilizer production would cut the price paid by farmers by 20 to 40 percent.

Janicki spoke favourably about initiatives taken by farmers to sell their products directly to consumers, thus circumventing the middlemen. "I want to stress once again that provided the stabilization programme is put into life with consistency, the market mechanism will cure the economic situation in farming and other sectors of the economy," Janicki told PAP.

Regional Solidarity Meetings Held

LD2801225790 Warsaw PAP in English 2224 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—The delegates of the NSZZ "Solidarnosc" from several regions held their general meetings on Saturday and today.

Striving at minimizing the consequences of unemployment, environmental protection issues and strengthening the unity of the union as a necessary factor of effective protection of employee's rights were the main topics of the discussion at the general meeting of the Przemysl region "Solidarnosc". Marek Kaminski, 38, a printer, was elected chairman of the regional board.

The main topic of the meeting in Gorzow Wielkopolski was the question whether "Solidarnosc" is to be a trade union or a political party. According to the speakers at the meeting, it is just the lack of definition of "Solidarnosc" that causes the fact that the organisation now has less members than it had at its birth. The meeting elected authorities of the 20-thousand strong regional organisation, its chairman, Andrzej Radlinski, had been elected a week ago.

During the general meeting of the Lodz region, majority of delegates opted for ending the squaring of accounts and for an active taking up a trade union problematique, especially in a tense situation caused by more and more frequent cases of crew reductions. These topics will have priority in the work of the new board.

The participants in the meeting of the Podkarpacie region, held in Krosno, stressed the need for the movement's unity and its support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki government's moves, especially in economic sphere.

Solidarity Calls for End to Security Service

LD3001220490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The economic activity of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity was the main topic of today's discussions in the Solidarity's National

Executive Commission in Gdansk. Problems connected with preparations for self-government elections were also discussed. The Presidium of Solidarity's National Executive Commission issued a statement stressing that it is appropriate to immediately dissolve the Security Service and that this is necessary if the transformations in Poland are to develop without danger of their reversal.

The statement also stresses that it is necessary to immediately secure the operational materials and archives that have been systematically destroyed since last fall and which are proof of the illegal activities of this institution. The National Executive Commission supports in their entirety the initiatives of the Citizens Parliamentary floor Group in this respect. Over and above that, it judges that it is necessary to suspend the transfer of Security Service officials to the militia and that the eventual creation of new services should be based on other structures and completely new personnel who enjoy society's trust.

Geremek Views Polish Democratization

AU1901133690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club: "The Polish Variant"]

[Text] The events that took place during the closing months of 1989, the eruption of freedom in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Romania, have caused a certain distortion in our perspective. It would appear that Poland has suddenly found itself behind in Central Europe's march to freedom, and that our neighbors are ahead of us. Yet it is Poland that began this historic march, owing to the 1980 events in Gdansk and "Solidarity's" election victory in 1989. The entire world today acknowledges this particular role we have played. However, today the point is not so much historic services as the present reality, and in the process of authentic democratization, Poland is still ahead of all the other countries of Central Europe. In 1989 we achieved freedom and stabilization. Today there are doubts: Is there perhaps too much stabilization and not enough freedom? This question poses major political significance, and I do not think it is a rhetorical one, or that only demagogues ask it.

A State Geared to the People

We headed for the June elections with pledges to abolish the party's monopoly and gear the state to the people. The election results, parliament's new role in public life, and the appointment of the first non-communist government in Poland's postwar history translated into a fulfillment of these pledges sooner than expected. Although the Communist Party has survived and we have not issued it a bill for the past, the party's monopoly over the state has been effectively and definitely neutralized. The PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] is now facing a choice that will determine its future—either to adapt itself to the democratic rules of public life and alter its political modus vivendi, or disappear.

We now have the legal conditions necessary for political pluralism and a democratic multiparty system. Any obstacles to this are the result of society's distrust of political parties in general, rather than political restrictions. The freedom of speech and of conscience has also been safeguarded, although this will not be formally manifested until censorship is abolished in the immediate future.

However, the personnel composition of the main bodies of authority has not changed much. However, these bodies are now functioning according to different principles, and their attitudes have changed. The new texts of the oaths that are taken by employees show that the state has been de-ideologized. The judiciary has been reformed, and we have begun the process of depoliticizing the Army. True, personnel changes do require more time because new people have to be trained, but professional competence and integrity should already be the ruling criteria, and that means promoting the best people at the expense of the worst. Preserving the nomenklatura would have disastrous consequences for the implementation of economic and state reforms.

However, the party's dismemberment also involves dangerous short- term effects. Threatened with the end of its old working style, the old apparatus of authority is plundering public assets or permitting the waste and destruction thereof. In view of the passionate defense of existing posts and job relationships that have been made (one remembers the cases of the mayors and voivodes of Lodz, Gdansk, and Krakow), the above phenomenon is highly disturbing and requires immediate steps, even if they have to be extraordinary.

A Unique Opportunity

Economic reform processes have gained momentum in recent weeks. A package of economic laws was passed by the Parliament without the introduction of extraordinary powers for the government, but with the use of extraordinary parliamentary procedures. We have created a legal framework for commencing work on overhauling the economy and introducing institutional changes. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government has obtained important credits and economic support from the West. There is a real possibility that Western capital can be secured for Polish investment projects. It is obvious that the success of the government program will primarily depend on the emergence of Polish initiatives and making the economy buoyant from within, but we must also be aware that a great deal also depends on the extent to which we manage to tap the great fund of interest and sympathy that exists in the West. In this respect, our privileged position is exceptional and probably unique, although Polish internal structures have yet to assume a form that would attract Western investment.

Poland will not be able to attract foreign capital by being able to offer a high profit margin. However, it can and

should attract capital by virtue of the ease with which capital can be invested, which is a factor providing the greatest inducement to foreign capital. We must also abolish the routine procedures employed by the Polish economic bureaucracy, which continue to make what has become possible impossible. It is imperative that we rapidly create a modern banking system, replace the antiquated telephone network, and introduce the extensive application of the economic norms, principles, and standards that are recognized by the EEC.

We must create the best possible conditions for operating in Poland for those people who are important for Poland. Measures facilitating such matters should be introduced in an appropriate fashion, and that requires a suitable state policy, which is one of the rights and duties of a government. An excessive faith in the capacity of market mechanisms for self-regulation may prove to have dire consequences.

The Fragile Fund of Confidence

The enormous public support that the present government commands is a key but also a fragile fundamental component of economic policy. This is because the support stems more from political trust and the the force of the hopes that the public has invested than from acceptance of the economic program. Public confidence undoubtedly provides an opportunity, but whether there continues to be that confidence depends on the extent to which society understands the strategic and operational provisions of the government program and the extent to which it considers those provisions to be its own. This, in turn, depends on ascertaining the psychological mood of society correctly and on appropriate social and technical measures. However, that will be primarily determined by the effectiveness of state intervention in two fundamental areas: creating a social safety net that will protect the weakest and offset the social effects of introducing a market economy and the priority treatment of agriculture.

It is true that "priorities" have been effectively discredited by the arbitrary conduct of previous governments and that someone who is planning the restoration of natural economic mechanisms, that is, the market, cannot, first and foremost, introduce privileges that will upset the functioning of market mechanisms. However, it is also true that many privileges inherited from the old system will continue to exist within the transitional setup, and it is worth thinking about them before they disappear. A policy supportive of agriculture can be accommodated within the framework of the planned introduction of measures facilitating business. This would provide both the government and the country with an opportunity to achieve rapid and tangible results and, in addition, it would represent a positive response to what is deemed a sensitive issue by a large part of society.

A Self-Governing Republic

The year 1990 is of key importance for Poland's future, and not just because it involves the first and most risky stage of restructuring the Polish economy. Life itself is about to put the successes of 1989 to the test. It will now be necessary to use the stability of the Polish changes in order to accelerate political reform. It is important to see in this perspective the key tasks which life is presenting before us or which we are trying to present before life.

We have decided to apply for the elections to the self-government bodies to take place sooner than planned, before the end of June 1990. This is a risky decision because the elections will thus take place during a period of accumulated material difficulties, and the positive results of the economic changes may still not be clearly visible. Nevertheless, we cannot avoid this risk, because the elections to the self-government bodies may be a powerful weapon in breaking up the nomenklatura at every level of authority, breaking up local cliques, and reviving the civic energy of large groups of society. The significance of this frequently goes unnoticed. Because of the routine of the old system of people's councils, people fail to realize that these elections are supposed to be an integral part of a powerful political reform, in other words the reshaping of local self-government. The Senate's announced legislation in this sphere paves the way to one of the greatest political transformations.

Political centralization has been a development trend in modern European states. In the postwar Central European system, this formed the basis of the Communist Party's monopoly. The self- government reform is supposed to pave the way to broad economic and administrative autonomy; in other words, it will permit the development of local democracy. Here we perceive the philosophy of the "Self-Governing Republic" program which "Solidarity" adopted at its 1981 congress, for the main thesis of this program was to restore to individuals and milieus the right to decide on matters concerning the state, society, the factory, and the local community. It is important that the election campaign should contain as little political demagogy as possible, and as much local programs and practical ideas as possible. But it would be bad if the momentous nature of the political transformation involved in the new system of local government were to be erased.

Toward a New Constitution

In the last days of 1989 we made far-reaching changes to basic constitutional principles concerning the political and socioeconomic system. It is difficult to overestimate the value of these changes. We have removed ideological clauses from the Constitution, including the ones introduced to it by the infamous amendment of 1976 (which not only made the "leading role" of a single party a constitutional principle, but also turned international alliances and "friendship" into such principles). We have placed the office of the prosecutor general under the control of the minister of justice, we have made the

respect of private property a clear political principle, and by restoring the country's historic name and emblem we have lent expression to our program of continuing the traditions of the independent republic. In this way, the political changes have received essential constitutional guarantees. The fact that the Sejm, and even the president, have approved of such far-reaching changes shows that the Polish political model is still functional and that it encourages democratic transformations.

The work which our parliament has already begun should result in a new Constitution this year. This will define the principles of our state's system, create the guarantees of national sovereignty and independence, and contain the rights and obligations of our citizens; in a nutshell, the Constitution will be the great charter of a reborn Polish republic. In this way there can be no compromises that reflect the present arrangement of forces in the Sejm. The process of creation and adoption of a new Constitution will therefore be a successive test of the adaptability of the Polish political system. It seems that it will also be necessary to have a referendum on the Constitution, so that the general public can have its say. On the threshold of the 20th century's last decade, Poland would thus gain a fundamental law that would meet the challenge of the changes which we are implementing.

Poland between East and West

After years of limited sovereignty, Poland has at last the possibility of newly defining its independent role in international life. Even today one can state that fundamental changes have taken place in Polish foreign policy. Its main principles have been emphatically sketched out. We have rejected the principle of imperial subordination. The sovereignty of the state and the defense of the Polish right to exist in secure conditions have shaped the new philosophy in our foreign policy. The role that Poland has played in the democratic transformation of Central Europe can serve as the basis of an active policy, especially in our part of the world.

The particular position of Poland "between East and West" poses certain dangers. Our history has never ceased to teach us this fact. However, our position also lends us great advantages. An independent and sovereign Poland is without doubt interested in pursuing an open policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union. That country now finds itself at a historic crossroads, and the way the Soviet Union will proceed must be of particular interest to us. Our economic interests in this cooperation are quite obvious, although Polish public opinion tends to undervalue this point. Our political interest does not only stem from the fact that we are neighbors. Poland can strengthen its international position if for no other better reason than by the fact that Polish experiences will act to either strengthen or weaken the transformations in the Soviet Union.

However, the fundamental arena for Polish activity can and should be Central Europe. The post-communist democratic process has created the visible convergence of the Polish, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian situation. All three countries are in the process of returning to Europe—to the European civilizational, economic, and political model. Each one of these countries is striving to forge closer links with the EEC, to obtain approval of its democratic reforms by joining the Council of Europe, and to develop bilateral cooperation with the countries of the West. Why not try to do this together? This would strengthen our joint opportunity and create a real strength, which on an individual basis none of us has. The Hungarians are now leaning toward Austria. Czechoslovakia is looking to the two Germanys. Poland could activate its interests in the direction of Scandinavia. These separate tendencies do not reduce the opportunity for closer cooperation between our three countries, but, on the contrary, it increases these opportunities, because it widens the nature of their complementary character.

Jean Monnet's European idea germinated for decades in the process of advancing federative structures. The creation of Benelux has served the process of European integration very well. It is worth studying that example. The chances of a similar union and the continuing friendship of our three states is further strengthened by the significant fact that there was clandestine cooperation between those people who now hold state posts in their respective countries. This also teaches us a lesson of a more general nature, namely, one should not treat the matter of support of democratic aspirations beyond one's own boundaries as something to be ashamed of, or something which conflicts with the raison d'etat of one's own country. On the contrary, the reverse is true.

The Need To Quicken the Historical Process

The Polish political order, which came about as a result of the elections and the creation of a non-communist government, is a response to the demands of a transitional period. Its ability to function is assessed according to its ability to meet the challenges of this period, namely, the dismantling of the values and structures of the old system, and the support, the expansion of, and the strengthening of a citizen's society. The time is ripe and it appears necessary to quicken the tempo of the changes and the successive historical process. The efficiency of the Polish model of evolutionary democratization now faces another challenge. This model will continue to serve Polish state interests only when it adapts itself to the demands of the time.

Walesa on Problems Facing Reform

AU1201104490 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 12 Jan 90 pp 40-42

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Jerzy Gorski; date and place not given: "The Time of the Masses is Over"]

[Text] [WOCHENPRESSE] The whole world has the impression that after the big leap forward Poland's reforms have now come to a standstill. Is this true?

[Walesa] For people who just like to talk big or who love spectacles this might be true. Or course, when a country changes its government five times or holds large-scale rallies five times a day, then this interests the world. In 1981 we did something like this, but now the time of big spectacles is behind us.

[WOCHENPRESSE] How can this be compared with the development in other East Bloc countries?

[Walesa] I think that Poland is far ahead of everybody else regarding legislature and organization. I tell this to those who claim that it took us 10 years to achieve something which others managed within 10 months or 10 hours. Those who climb too quickly may fall down all the more quickly. Rallies were necessary to start reforms. Now we need an improved economy and new technologies. We must become competitive. We will not achieve all this with rallies.

[WOCHENPRESSE] In other countries there will soon be completely free elections. Is Poland satisfied with its 35-percent democracy?

[Walesa] Our 35-percent democracy, as you call it, has facilitated the formation of a completely free government. Nobody forced us to accept this or that interior minister or defense minister. Of course, many people did not like this, but, by the end of January, we will see a completely new Communist Party. Why should we struggle for things which we are getting for free? We need experts, even though these experts did not always act correctly in the past. Under changed circumstances they will work decently. If they were abused now, their work would be lost.

[WOCHENPRESSE] What is your view on developments in Romania?

[Walesa] We initiated the reform process in the East Bloc, and, therefore, we feel responsible to a certain degree for the entire development. We would like to see the development proceed quietly and not so dramatically and not with executions. Of course, there are special cases, but I am always for peaceful solutions. The Romanians, with whom we feel solidarity, should make sure that justice wins over injustice. After all, we do not want any more children to become orphans. At the end of the 20th century, revolutions should take place only quietly, peacefully, and in a dignified way. This should be our example for the 21st century.

[WOCHENPRESSE] This sounds great, but in Poland, too, one hears radical demands, such as for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops....

[Walesa] Because this is the easiest thing. It sounds courageous, spectacular, even though not heroic. This is too cheap. We should forego radical demands.

[WOCHENPRESSE] Thus, should relations with the Soviet Union remain as they are?

[Walesa] Nothing can be changed by radical means. Or can we shift Poland to America? We will have the same neighbors in the future, too. Current relations cannot be changed by decree. One has to explain, discuss, negotiate, look for solutions. All this takes time.

[WOCHENPRESSE] A decisive question: What is your position on the reunification of Germany?

[Walesa] Divisions are ridiculous. Whether in Korea or Germany. One has to give up such ideas. However, this must not be done at the cost of others. One has to look for new solutions for a Europe without borders—as, for example, today economic integration between Germany and France has advanced to such a degree that one can hardly find a border anymore. One has to look for such solutions. In contrast, nationalist solutions always lead to an evil end.

[WOCHENPRESSE] Recently you said that the Mazowiecki government is following the correct course but that things are moving too slowly....

[Walesa] I wanted to accelerate the course of things, because the proposals for the radical combating of inflation were, unfortunately, not linked with a reform of the ownership structure. The people want to see results quickly, and such results will not come about as long as the people are deprived of their money and, at the same time, there is no reform of the system of ownership. Therefore, I call for determined solutions in this area in particular. All forms of ownership should have equal rights in the future. I like this government, but it has to do what must be done.

[WOCHENPRESSE] You asked the Poles to have a lot of patience in the new year. How much longer are they supposed to be patient?

[Walesa] Longer than we would like. There is a new situation. One can say everything frankly. One sees everything and can have more influence. Pluralism has made the population more ready for concessions. But there is a limit to everything. This year we need visible signs of economic progress.

[WOCHENPRESSE] In contrast, the government is predicting an increase in unemployment. Are you not afraid that the official trade union federation OPZZ [All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement] and the Solidarity fundamentalists associated with Marian Jurczyk might cause unrest because of this?

[Walesa] Jurczyk has always been a demagogue and has always had a big mouth. He has so few followers, however, that it does not matter whether he goes on strike. But the strike will not have any results. Those on strike will just return to work with less money. The majority of the people support the reforms, and they will not allow the minority to destroy all this. Of course, there will be many dissatisfied people. I, too, am dissatisfied, but I am a realist.

[WOCHENPRESSE] How do you want to turn the Solidarity trade union into a mass movement?

[Walesa] I do not want a mass movement. When I was released from prison, I tried to establish pluralism, that is, variety. There were times when the masses were needed, 10 million or even more. This time is over today. It is necessary that we, as Poles, achieve agreement on a few questions. Concerning other questions, everyone should find his own place, whereever he feels most comfortable, in Christian, socialist, or other organizations. But not in a mass movement. The time of mass rallies is also over, and this is good, because they never were our goal. The world is advancing and so are we. Poland does not need a return to 1980 but a pluralistic 1990. The trade unions should also be pluralistic. If there were only the one thing, this would lead to distortion sooner or later.

[WOCHENPRESSE] What do you wish for the 1990's?

[Walesa] One year ago I wished that Poland had a "roundtable." Now I wish us all the results of the roundtable talks. For 60 percent of the Poles it is not politics that counts but results. Today we have the political opportunities, the premier, beautiful speeches in the Sejm and the Senate. All this is great, but it is time for us to see practical results.

[WOCHENPRESSE] What results?

[Walesa] Somebody once said: The feeding-trough is the same, there are just other pigs in front of it. I count myself among those pigs; therefore, I dare to say something like this. I want the feeding-trough to be replaced. At the moment, it is as bad as in the past. It will be better only when we have new solutions, not some in the old style. Everything must happen more quickly, more effectively. The people expect this. If this year does not bring us results, we will protest again, with Lech Walesa or another Walesa in the lead.

[WOCHENPRESSE] You mentioned your wishes for the 1990's. What are your fears?

[Walesa] It is Europe that I am more worried about than about Poland. We in Poland will make progress soon, if we are left in peace. We have done everything very prudently, and we have not even antagonized the Communist Party members too much. This will bring us advantages. Accounts will be settled with the old regime, but this should not be our main goal. However, I fear that Europe expects us to settle accounts drastically. I hear—and fear—the statement: This system cannot be reformed, because the people are spending all their time at rallies instead of working. Decades of a system have made us lose certain qualities. We are talking about reforms, but we are waiting for somebody else to implement them. We remain passive and do not take up the initiative ourselves. And we are looking for salvation at rallies. This is precisely the danger. It might lead to enormous chaos and to an even greater exodus to the West. This is my worst fear.

Walesa on Party Assets, Soviet Troops, CSSR

LD2601053290 Warsaw PAP in English 2301 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 25—Like a week ago, Solidarnosc chairman Lech Walesa met with Polish and foreign newsmen at his weekly press conference at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdasnk, his workplace. The crew present at the conference asked questions and is to assess how the newsmen reported on the event.

At the outset Walesa annoucned that he resigned from meeting President Vaclav Havel in Warsaw so that he could hold the press conference.

On Interview for LA STAMPA

Referring to the report carried by GAZETA WYBORCZA which quoted the Italian LA STAMPA to the effect that he deemed Mazowiecki's government as "provisional and that he staked on the next premier, Bronislaw Geremek," Walesa said:

"Such a thing did take place but this was not an interview. When things got hot some put a question of how things would evolve and should I become the premier. At that time I replied: Wait a second, along the way there still is Geremek and others. And that was all. Following the Solidarnosc congress there will be no possibility of pursuing politics. One will have to engage in trade union affairs. We therefore will not be able to support the government as much as we have so far."

On Nationalization of Party Assets

In reply to a question on the issue of the nationalization of PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] assets, Walesa said: "I did not want to wage battle over this but it is the property of the nation and this problem must be solved in a civilized way."

On Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation

Walesa was skeptical about the idea of a Polish-Czechoslovak confederation. "As an amateur politician I think that this proposal dates from an older period, not corresponding to one Europe. Such unification of two against a third one does not facilitate European integration but provokes others to set up various blocs, excluding the case of a unification of Germany. Then we really would have to think about security."

On Soviet Troops in Poland

The Solidarnosc chairman also recalled his stance on the presence of Soviet forces in Poland and said he would address the government and Sejm on the matter.

On Gdansk Shipyard's Future

As goes for the Gdansk Shipyard, Walesa said: "I will do everything to save the shipyard. At present I know of no threats, everything is proceeding according to plan. There is to be a state-owned stock company and then a

portion of the shares will go to the crew which will decide what next. The shipyard is Polish and state-run."

TU Leader Miodowicz on Gaining Economic Recovery

PM0801110790 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Dec 89 p 10

[Article by Alfred Miodowicz, National Trade Union Alliance chairman: "We Remain True to Ourselves"]

[Text] A year ago, when we declared that official restoration of union pluralism would be imperfect without prior consent to a formal recognition of political pluralism, we met with sharp criticism from two sides. The authorities then in office exclaimed in horror that political pluralism was tantamount to giving consent to a dismantling of the socialist system. The opposition, which was at that time already emerging from its underground strongholds, but was still illegal, maintained that the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] was intent on defending its monopoly because union pluralism constituted a threat to its very existence. The stalemate situation which persisted throughout 1988 was a result of the fact that the authorities lacked even the necessary minimum of support from the general public that would allow them to discharge their duties and actually carry out any exercise of power at all. At the same time the opposition, which was still illegal, could not exist or operate officially either. Any thought of an actual change of the political orientation of the authorities in power seemed at that time so iconoclastic and menacing that it was used to scare the public just as children are intimidated with the imaginary figure of the bogeyman.

On the other hand, we in the OPZZ reasoned in the simplest terms: Given that social pluralism—which obviously did exist regardless of whether it was officially approved or not—was a natural consequence of a variety of interests and opinions on the part of different groups in society, then, in order to bring about its formal recognition, it was first necessary to demonstrate existing differences in political interests. As regards the fundamental platform of trade union concerns, no diametrical political differences are to be found there. One way or another, whatever the color of the flag under which we are assembled—whether it be red, red and white, or yellow and white—the working people always bring similar problems and concerns to the trade unions: questions of work, ownership relations, civic rights, and social welfare provisions. It is true that work and pay conditions as well as the status of labor depend on the state's economic and social policy. But trade unions are not the chief authors of policies. The creation of these is the domain of political parties and groups. And so we must first identify separate political interest groups and separate political programs so that particular trade unions could then identify themselves with the given orientation or even form themselves around it.

We took part both in the discussion preceding the roundtable debate and in the debate itself, but the crucial negotiations between the elite centers of the authorities and the opposition groups were conducted without our participation. Our viewpoint did not find favor with any of the sides. It was decided to introduce full trade union pluralism and a restricted, contract-based form of political democracy. But we ended up with a somewhat different package: We have full political pluralism, whereas real socialism is spoken of in terms of the closed past. However, the situation is still by no means clear or normal. After the reshuffle in the alliances between the erstwhile elite groups, the opposition assumed power, while the erstwhile authority in power is now, as it were, in opposition. As a matter of fact, the OPZZ' situation is the closest to normal among all these upheavals. We remain what we have always been: trade unions which are always ready to cooperate with any government provided that government's actions serve the interests of the working people. It is not up to us to try to reconcile the conflicting interests which are always present in society. Our brief is to fight for the interests of our members, the employees. As little and as much as that: We must represent our members. But today many new politicians resent us for it. In fact, yesterday's politicians resented us for it in the same way in the past.

The fact that the introduction of union pluralism failed to cause any considerable reduction in our membership confirms the correctness of this principle of OPZZ activity. Contrary to predictions made by certain futurologists, there has been no mass exodus from OPZZ trade unions, nor have any significant numbers of these unions changed their colors. Naturally, the great variety in the situation of different workplaces accounts for a corresponding number of variations in the situation of their unions. Membership of our organizations grew numerically in some cases and decreased in others. Each trade union belonging to the OPZZ is an autonomous, dynamic organization which maintains a firm grip on the realities of life through everyday work and contacts with the membership base. Personnel movement and the continuing decline in work force levels are also responsible for the numerical reduction of our trade union organizations. All the same, we see many new employees joining our organizations.

It is not my place to comment on the solutions adopted by our strongest partners, that is, the Solidarity Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions. But I believe that the "multirole" nature of that organization has impeded the progress that has been promised in the roundtable talks. As for us, we have kept our numerical strength. There are over 6.5 million of us. Therefore it can be assumed that those former Solidarity members of 1980-1981 who set up our unions from 1983 onward have remained true to their decision and still constitute the basic core of the OPZZ membership. It should also be stressed that our ranks have been swelled by large numbers of young people who started in their first jobs in the eighties. Theirs is a fully conscious choice which attests to the needs of the working people and the demand for a union which will make every effort to meet these needs. The

fact that more than 6 million members effectively vote for their union each month by paying union dues, which are often quite substantial, without any political or administrative pressure—in fact, even with the recent rise of the unfavorable atmosphere surrounding our organization—is in itself serious evidence of the strength of their conviction. It proves beyond any doubt that our trade union organizations meet a pressing social need and can properly articulate and protect the interests of work forces in enterprises. It also shows that they clearly do all this in a way devised and approved by these work forces.

We have always maintained that our major concern is the good of our country. But we have always immediately added that the good of Poland is defined by the good of the majority of Polish people. And these are mostly families of working and retired people who depend exclusively for their income on the remuneration for the work they do now or have done in the past. Hence our critical attitude to past governments which either kept proposing that we forever tighten our belts or else voiced demagogic slogans about the spirit of enterprise and the need to build up wealth—all this instead of getting to grips with the all-too-obvious chaos reigning everywhere: in investment projects, materials management, wages and prices policy, administration taxation, and so on. Our attitude to the new coalition's government team is exactly the same as our position vis-a-vis the past governments formed by the old coalition of the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party. This is because our basic premise is that the effectiveness and efficiency of the work of any government are measured by the level of approval with which the majority of citizens greet its policies. Within the still limited but already operative system of electoral democracy which we experienced last June, the previous coalition could appreciate for itself the importance of that criterion. The new coalition will be able to appreciate it for itself in a few years' time. Personally I would like to see Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government pass that test successfully. And this is not because I am interested in wooing the premier. Mazowiecki's success will mark the beginning of the road to Poland's success. However, the hopes we pin on him now do not mean that we will offer him, his ministers, and his officials our blind and unconditional veneration with regard to anything and everything they do.

No one can claim to be surprised by the fact that the OPZZ refuses to condone a policy of further belt-tightening, of continued and one-sided sacrifices to be made by the working people, of abolishing social welfare benefits that had been won for us by generations of trade unionists, and of unrestrained increases in prices and profits within the private sector.

In our opinion our position is a direct consequence of the definition of a trade union and its prescribed function. We must not consent to the maneuver of selling our national assets to foreign buyers; we must not agree to being treated as second-class citizens in our own country; we must not allow a policy whose consequences would include unemployment and production losses: a policy that is tough for the working public and indulgent to the employers.

This is why we have not offered and will not offer our unconditional support to any government. Just as parliament will be held to account by the electorate and the government by the Sejm, so will we be held to account on a day to day basis by our members. Our traditions of democratically held elections are much older: We had such elections in the trade unions long before the round-table talks. Unfortunately, we are very often confronted by hostile propaganda with which our opponents try to distort our views and present us as adversaries of all reforms. It was so when, back in 1985, we pointed out that the reform was flourishing very nicely in [the newspaper] RZECZPOSPOLITA, but was hardly noticeable when you removed the upper case [wordplay on "rzeczpospolita," which means "republic"] and looked at the enterprises around you. It was so when we criticized Prof Sadowski's price and wage operations. It was so even more recently when we were against approving the indexation formulas prepared by the roundtable commissions, submitted to the Sejm, and then rapidly amended by the Sejm before being approved. Unfortunately, every time it was a case of "being proved right."

Nowadays every passing month demonstrates that the peculiar practice of applying magical formulas to social and economic thinking is a chronic condition suffered by every Polish government regardless of the political party card it may carry or the religious faith it may embrace. This is why we do not help the government by approving its every move but by opposing its policies if we regard them as erroneous.

I know full well what I can expect to hear now. Just as in the past, I will be told that it is easy to criticize others. I will be told: "All right, Mr Miodowicz, if you have your own magic formula for overcoming the crisis, why do you not tell us what it is?" We have heard such words of encouragement before. And we did have our own, concrete, alternative blueprints for getting the country back on its feet by different means than those proposed by the official policies. Not only were these alternative blueprints not considered at all: We were not even allowed to disclose them for the information of the general public. Although, of course, it is not the brief of trade unions themselves to prepare such programs, this time around we will also soon present a cohesive program for a socioeconomic policy which could, in our opinion, offer this country a realistic chance of overcoming the crisis—not by measures aimed against the interests of the working people but precisely through a recognition of their rights and entitlements which have been ignored and neglected for much too long. An essential element of our proposal will be the basing of the principles of the prices and incomes policy—and in particular the wages policy—on a nationwide system of collective labor agreements, that is, on a certain kind of social contract negotiated by a cross-national representation of all trade

unions and jointly underwritten by all of them. We believe that in this way—given that a number of other demands is met—we will create an opportunity for building a firm and stable framework for our economy. We would also be able—at long last—to provide enough stimuli to galvanize it into a vigorous and crisis-free development and to encourage people to lend their hand in the implementation of the essential economic changes designed to offer them decent pay for honest work.

PO PROSTU Weekly Reappears

LD1101233390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] In spite of everything, once again PO PROSTU, an independent weekly closed down by the functionaries of communism, is returning to you, the reader—the new weekly PO PROSTU. This comes from the introductory article in the pilot number.

As we remember, the old PO PROSTU was a paper for the young intelligentsia. What it will be now, we will see. In any case the name is binding. The edition includes Bronislaw Geremek on the anatomy of the breakthrough, Andrzej Szczypiorski on anti-Semitism without Jews; Stefan Bratkowski on the small common market of Central Europe, Andrzej Drawicz on the concentration camp world. The editor in chief is Ryszard Turski.

Private TV Station Inaugurated in Wroclaw

LD3001144290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The first private television in Poland and East Europe has been launched in Wroclaw. Wroclaw residents will be able to watch retranmissions of satellite programs until 6 February. This is in order to set the positions of aerials and to eliminate disturbances. Later, their own program will be launched and will be four hours daily to begin with. The owners want to make money on announcements and advertisements. They smell success.

Mazowiecki on Television's Future

LD2401192190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with the heads of radio and television. After the meeting he was invited for an interview by our correspondent, Marek Kassa:

[Begin recording] [Kassa] Mr. Premier, is today's visit caused by the fact that you do or do not like television and radio?

[Mazowiecki] Today's visit is caused by the fact that we have recognized that the degree of understanding of the intentions of the government and the intentions of the widely understood—I would put it this way—radio and television team, is, well, unsatisfactory. We should do something so that we can understand each other better.

[Kassa] What should radio and television be like?

[Mazowiecki] I would like to see a television that is pluralist and serves that which was recalled here at this meeting—that means good, mutual communication. Mutual, I stress, between the general society and the authorities, so that this flow of communication is assured in the sense that every question—especially socially difficult questions that give rise to social tension—that these questions be clarified from various points of view, allowing everyone to see that there are various rationales, various points of view amongst which one must choose in a way that is sensible and most intelligent, most appropriate.

[Kassa] Do you think that such an understanding was achieved?

[Mazowiecki] I am pleased with the meeting. [end recording]

Media Official on Plans for TV Programming

LD2401203690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Interview with Andrzej Drawicz, head of the Polish Radio and Television Affairs Committee, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Mr chairman, what kind of television would you like to have?

[Drawicz] The answer is very short: good television, obviously, good, versatile, user-friendly television, television that helps people to live in the difficult times we are experiencing. This is the basic point. I would very much like to tell some of the critics of my personnel policy, who accuse me of being too lenient, that they should not make hasty judgments because certain things become clear as we proceed. Moreover, I do not want to organize witchhunts in this institution.

Certain measures had to be adopted here to start with, but normal personnel policy is needed in future. This cannot mean witchhunts or mass layoffs at any opportunity. Well, this is what I would like to say now.

If you allow me, I would also like to mention that the premier's visit, which has just ended, was a very good visit. We reached something which the premier described as the climate of sensitivity to mutual intentions. Indeed, the premier appeared, as it were, to better understand the situation in which we are operating throughout this whole institution and in the present social conditions. We, in turn, have heard very clear and convincing outlines of the government's position, which, at present, is the position of a wide Polish majority. [passage omitted]

Changes in Polish Press Detailed

AU2401164390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Jaga Rey article: "Press Kaleidoscope—A Time Of Bankruptcy"]

[Text] A press carousel has been set in motion at the same time as the increases in the price of paper. It has been encouraged by the thinner and thinner wallets of the readers. The situation on the press market is changing like in a kaleidoscope. Some titles have already been abolished, some are threatened by bankruptcy, some will soon cease publication, and some are looking for sponsors. Finally, despite bankruptcy, new editorial teams are emerging, but they too disappear soon afterwards.

Even the semi-pornographic magazine SEKS which, by the way, is printed on terrible paper, is not being bought by anyone. Newspaper kiosks have titles for which there used to be long lines of people waiting to buy them, but which now lie idle.

Power over the press market is exerted by the "Prasa-Ksiazka- Ruch" Workers Publishing Cooperative, which owns most of the press titles published in Poland last year. The joint circulation of these was almost half the circulation of the entire Polish press. Right now, the Workers Publishing Cooperative is in the process of economic-programmatic changes, says Alina Tepli, its chairman, and not until the end of January will we know which titles will survive and which will be abolished. What we do know already is that a major section of public opinion is calling for the transfer of the Cooperative's assets to various social and political organizations.

Here are the latest figures, from October 1989, showing the circulation and return of newspapers:

TRYBUNA LUDU: 233,800 copies circulated, 29.1 percent of them returned unsold;

ZYCIE WARSZAWY: 160,900 copies circulated, 9.3 percent returned unsold;

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA [WORKERS TRIBUNE]: 324,100 copies circulated, 3.4 percent returned unsold;

POLITYKA: 233,800 copies circulated, 1.9 percent returned unsold;

PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY [WEEKLY REVIEW]: 157,100 copies circulated, 12.4 percent returned unsold;

TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC: 399,500 copies circulated, 26.3 percent returned unsold;

TYGODNIK ROLNIKOW SOLIDARNOSC [SOLIDARITY FARMERS WEEKLY]: 99,000 copies circulated, 43.1 percent returned unsold;

RZECZPOSPOLITA: 250,000 copies circulated, 2.8 percent returned unsold.

The director of the Warsaw Press Publishing House has lifted the veil of secrecy surrounding the abolition of titles currently belonging to the Workers Publishing Cooperative. The following no longer exist: ODRODZENIE [REBIRTH], PRZYJAZN [FRIENDSHIP] and WIDNOKREGI [HORIZONS]. KONFRONTACJE has been transferred into the hands of a company, and the following sponsored titles will not be published beyond March 1990: KURIER SPOLDZIELCZY [COOPERATIVE COURIER], DOMY SPOLDZIELCZE [COOPERATIVE HOUSES], ATUT [TRUMP], PIES [DOG], and BANK SPOLDZIELCZY [COOPERATIVE BANK].

Four other titles belonging to the Contemporary Publishing House have also been abolished: ARGUMENTY (this might return in a new shape in a few months time), PROBLEMY WYZNAN I LAICYZACJI [PROBLEMS OF RELIGION AND LAITY], and NASZE PROBLEMY [OUR PROBLEMS]. Romuald Surowiec, director of this publishing house, said that MIESIECZNIK LITWERACKI [LITERARY MONTGHLY], ZA WOLNOSC I LUD [FOR FREEDOM AND THE PEOPLE], and PROBLEMY ALKOHOLIZMU [PROBLEMS OF ALCOHOLISM] will only appear until the end of March, whereas ZMIANY [CHANGES] will be renamed GAZETA SAMORZADOWA [SELF-MANAGEMENT GAZETTE], and GOSPODARKA-ADMINISTRACJA PANSTWOWA [STATE ECONOMY AND ADMINISTRATION] will be taken over by the Office of the Council of Ministers.

The Agricultural and Forestry Publishing House has also been unable to digest the free-market prices of paper. "We have no money for paper, which has to be paid for in advance" says Marcin Bajorek, the director of this publishing house. "If we do not pay, they charge us interest. All in all, we are Z1.5 billion short."

The publishing house in question has stopped printing 13 titles: MLODY ROLNIK [YOUNG FARMER], TRAKTOR, NOWE ROLNICTWO [NEW AGRICULTURE], SAD NOWOCZESNY [MODERN ORCHARD], OGRODNICTWO [GARDENING], DROBIARSTWO [POULTRY-FARMING], OWCZARSTWO [SHEEP-FARMING], HODOWCA DROBNEGO INWENTARZA [SMALL ANIMAL BREEDER], PORADNIK PLANTATORA [PLANTER'S HANDBOOK], and SLUZBA ROLNA [AGRICULTURAL SERVICE]. Their abolition is envisaged.

The fate of journals which have been sponsored by the Polish Academy of Sciences is also uncertain. The Academy is going to withdraw its sponsorship of four titles.

Konrad Kaszewski, director of the TRYBUNA LUDU publishing house, said that ZYCIE PARTII [PARTY LIFE], IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA [IDEOLOGY AND

POLITICS], FAKTY I KOMENTARZE [FACTS AND COMMENTARIES], GAZETA PLAKATOWA [POSTER GAZETTE], MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA [MARXIST THOUGHT], Z POLA WALKI [FROM THE BATTLEFIELD], and PREZENTACJE [PRESENTATIONS] have all been abolished. The lives of TRYBUNA LUDU, CHLOPSKA DROGA [PEASANT PATH], and five voivodship weeklies are threatened.

The "Solidarity" press is also experiencing difficulties. TYGODNIK GDANSKI [GDANSK WEEKLY], one of its three national papers, has had to reduce its circulation from 90,000 to 75,000 copies, and over 10 percent of it is returned unsold. "It is not difficult to produce a 'heroic' paper," says Editor-in-Chief Maciej Lopinski. "The difficulty lies in making it interesting. Society is deeply enmeshed in a crisis, and is shunning politics. In such a situation, our readership is not growing, and even papers with the 'Solidarity' banner are lying idle in kiosks. How can we make people interested in politics once again? How can we induce society to think in an intellectual way when problems of daily existence are the dominating topic? We have several interesting ideas, but none of them has resolved the problem yet. We will try to survive."

WIEDZA I ZYCIE [KNOWLEDGE AND LIFE], one of the largest popular scientific magazines, has a circulation of 140,000, and used to cost Z1,000. In January it went up to Z1,800, and according to calculations should cost Z4,000 in the second quarter of the year. Its readers, who are mainly young people, students, and intellectuals, can no longer afford it. However, WIEDZA I ZYCIE survives because of its other activity—it also produces brochures, books, and gadgets. But even that is not enough. It transpires that it is possible to find a rich sponsor.

"We have held preliminary talks with the American publishers of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN," says Editor-in-Chief Jan Ruranski. "They are willing to grant us a license to produce a Polish edition of the magazine, and we could use the profits from that to finance WIEDZA I ZYCIE. We also want to set up a Foundation for the Popularization of Knowledge, composed of donations from large enterprises, for which they would enjoy tax concessions."

GAZETA WYBORCZA, the journal of the European of 1989, alias Adam Michnik, is not scared of bankruptcy, although it too has raised its price once again and has been forced to reduce its circulation from 550,000 to 450,000 copies. It makes up for the deficit by carrying advertisements. Faulty distribution is the only reason for unsold copies. "We are doing all we can to keep our price low," says Juliusz Rawicz, editorial secretary. "But if the paper producers continue to raise their prices, we will start importing paper from abroad, for example Finland or the USSR. I assume the reason why we are popular and trusted is that we say the same things as society does."

Titles that have already changed their sponsors include RUCH MUZYCZNY [MUSICAL MOVEMENT], TEATR, and ODRA. These will be financed by the Ministry of Culture and Art, just like periodicals of the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Jewish, and Slovak ethnic minorities already are. INSPIRACJE will be jointly financed by the Ministry and the Workers Publishing Cooperative, whereas ODRODZENIE [REBIRTH] will be supported by the Ministry and by the Polish People's Party. According to Michal Jagiello, vice minister of culture and art, the papers will be sponsored by the ministry, but will nevertheless enjoy an independent personnel and editorial policy. However, their prices might be so high that they might have to appear every 2 months. However, Stefan Starczewski, vice minister of culture and art, has promised financial support for NOWE KSIAZKI [NEW BOOKS], if it should prove necessary.

Since 6 June 1989, the censor's office, instead of issuing permits for new press titles, has been simply registering them. In 1988 it issued permits for 200 new titles, whereas last year it issued permits for and registered a total of 525 new titles. New titles are appearing almost every day. In September, a bi-weekly called TO I OWO [THIS AND THAT] appeared, full of informative articles and advertisements, and presenting the programs of eight satellite television stations. It broke the monopoly of the Lodz Press Publishing House, which is part of the Workers Publishing Cooperative. Also in September, the first issue of KUPIEC [MERCHANT] appeared, a weekly supplement of WIADOMOSCI PRODUKCYJNE [PRODUCTION NEWS], published by "Sigma." The first issue of TYGODNIK ROLNIKOW SOLIDARNOSC [SOLIDARITY FARMERS WEEKLY], an illustrate color magazine of 16 pages, with a circulation of 300,000, appeared.

However, readers have an increasingly greater choice of what to read, and are taking longer to choose. The Press Readership Research Center in Krakow has been investigating press readership for years. It tested a group of 1,500 readers, considered to be representative of all Polish readers. It was established that 90.8 percent of Poles read newspapers at the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989. In the middle of 1989, this percentage fell by 0.3, and by the end of 1989 amounted to only 84.9 percent. The Center also tested separately those readers who only read one title. These results also confirmed a drop in the number of readers. At the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989, 79.4 percent of people read only one title; in the middle of 1989, 74.6 percent did so; and at the end of the year only 68 percent did so. "Fewer and fewer people are reading the press today, and they are doing so less and less regularly," says Professor Walery Pisarek from the Press Readership Research Center. "Although this conforms to world trends, nowhere else have such changes taken place in the space of only a few months. In some countries, this process takes whole years, sometimes longer than 10."

With the catastrophic state of the printing industry and the growing costs of printing, it is not difficult to guess what the fate of bold and ambitious people who are entering the press market will be. If the paper producers continue to raise the price of paper, newspapers will go bankrupt, and we will spend our evenings sitting in armchairs with no newspaper.

Warsaw Citizen Committees Form Council

LD2801224790 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—A Warsaw agreement of "Solidarnosc" citizen's committees was set up here today, the main TV news bulletin "Wiadomosci" reported tonight.

The agreement worked out a joint programme, adopted its statute and elected its council with Zbigniew Bujak as its chairman.

There are some 50 citizen's committees here and in the Warsaw Voivodship.

Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact Documents Published

LD2701184290 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—The "Alfa" publishing house has issued a collection of all hitherto revealed documents concerning the 1939 Soviet-German non-aggression pact known as the Ribbentrop- Molotov pact.

The Publication, titled 'Conspiracy, Fourth Partition of Poland," includes a secret protocol concerning Poland's territorial division, two border agreements with a map attached, texts of messages exchanged on the occasion between the two governments, and cuttings from Soviet press.

Soviet Envoy Protests Attack in Krakow

LD3001175290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet ambassador to Poland, Vladimir Brovikov, has handed Boleslaw Kulski, a secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a note containing a protest about the 28 January attack on the Soviet consulate general in Krakow. The note states, among other things, that the law and order agencies did not assure the consulate the due protection which the Polish side is obliged to do under international law. Boleslaw Kulski expressed regret and said that the Polish Government will take the necessary steps to protect the immunity and safety of the Soviet representations in Poland.

Roman Responds to U.S. on Opposition Treatment

AU3101154190 Paris AFP in English 1414 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 31 (AFP)—Fears expressed by the United States about the treatment of Romanian opposition parties by pro-government demonstrators here "may seem justified from a distance", Prime Minister Petre Roman said Wednesday in an exclusive interview with AFP.

On Tuesday [30 January] the State Department said the United States was "deeply troubled" by the incidents on Monday in which headquarters of opposition premises were attacked and leaders had to be protected by police. The State Department said the demonstrators had been mobilised by members of the National Salvation Front [NSF] which has ruled Romania since the overthrow of President Nicolae Ceausescu on December 22.

Mr. Roman, interviewed at his office in the building housing the NSF headquarters, ruled out any resignation by his government although he said it was "possible" the cabinet might shortly be enlarged to include other groups. Mr. Roman speaking in French, refused to say whether he would be candidate in general elections scheduled for May 20. "I must consider my responsibilities," he said, adding that he had "received many propositions".

Pro-NSF Demonstrations Reported in Provinces

AU3001121190 Paris AFP in English 2329 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Jan 30 (AFP)—Supporters of Romania's governing National Salvation Front demonstrated in several provincial towns Monday, Romanian television reported.

Earlier Monday several thousand supporters of the Front, including many bussed in for the occasion, massed in Bucharest in a countershow of force after a huge opposition demonstration Sunday.

The television said Front supporters, including miners and workers, took to the streets of the industrial towns of Baia Mare, in the north-west, Resita, in the south-west, and Arad, in the west.

It broadcast pictures of demonstrators chanting slogans in support of the Front and shouting the names of its two main leaders, provisional President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The report did not specify the number of demonstrators. [passage omitted]

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0500 GMT on 30 January reports only: "Big demonstrations took place yesterday in support of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest and other towns in the country."]

NSF Reportedly To Split Into Two Groups

AU3101100890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The National Salvation Front of Romania has decided to split into two groups. One group will manage the country, and the other will participate in the next elections. This was announced by Silviu Brucan, member of the Front, in a statement to journalists in Bucharest. The Front will propose the formation of an opposition coalition government to manage the country until elections are held in May.

NSF Moves Indication of Economic Strategy

AU3001102490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0913 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—It certainly is too early to speak about a NSF [National Salvation Front] economic policy one month after the revolution. But the steps it has taken until now can give us an idea of its strategic options: to shut down a number of large energy consumer works, limit the activity of others that put a useless strain on the national power system, promote the production of industries of general interest and reduce industrial exports down to the availabilities.

Industry—the dimensions of which were set before the revolution in an arbitrary way unrelated to the structure of the national resources—will be subject to drastic change. An evaluation of the productive potential on the basis of real statistical data and of the resources is underway in the major economic ministries. The production of the metal, chemical and cement industries has been adjusted to domestic demands.

Technological restructuring also through international economic cooperation is another priority. As far as this question is concerned, the officials are unambiguous: The dictator-inspired economic autarchy is out of the question. An inventory will be made of those Romanian industries which can be revived with assistance from reputed foreign companies to be competitive and profit-making.

Will there be unemployment? Out of work people will be given several alternatives: to re-train for economic sectors where the work force is scarce, or to take up jobs in the sphere of services where private enterprises may be successful. Moreover, an added importance to agriculture by giving land to farmers will absorb a good part of the commuting work force which had fled the villages.

There are signs that Romania will no longer manufacture for manufacture's sake or export for export's sake, investing billions of lei in useless units. And it is encouraging that productions are now set by producers who know best what they can do.

Poet Ana Blandiana Withdraws From NSF Council

AU3101082990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Poetess Ana Blandiana announced her decision to withdraw from the National Salvation Front, saying that her presence in the Council is incompatible with the status of being a writer who made a commitment to always remain apart from the aggression, hatred, and lack of tolerance that are generated by the struggle for power.

In her statements to the paper ROMANIA LIBERA, Ana Blandiana said that she has taken this decision as a result of the events of the past days.

Iliescu Meets With Regional Representatives

AU3001175190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Representatives of large workers' collectives and citizens, who on Sunday night and Monday [28 and 29 January] organized demonstrations in various localities of the country in support of the National Salvation Front [NSF], continued to arrive at the NSF Headquarters this afternoon. This meeting was attended by representatives of miners and (?pits) from Baia Mare; miners from Borsa; iron and steel workers from Hunedoara; delegations of citizens from Simeria, Resita, and Arad; miners from Alba County; men of culture and science from Piatra Neamt; and peasants from the hero commune of Moisei.

The delegations met with NSF President Ion Iliescu and on behalf of the thousands of workers and citizens they represent, they asked the Front to participate unconditionally in the elections. They also asked the political parties to let the Front Council and government concern themselves with solving the country's economic and social problems.

Mr Ion Iliescu pointed out that the NSF Council by no means intends to yield to pressure, no matter from what direction it may come. He said that diversity is a law of nature and in a dynamic society differences of ideas and interests cannot be absent but that the preservation of the unity of the country and of the people is the essential factor at the current time in order to overcome the difficulties inherited from the former regime.

The people, the NSF Council president emphasized, are the ones who will decide who is to lead to the country's destiny.

He recalled that during the dialogue with the three historic parties they agreed that problems have to be solved at the negotiating table.

Iliescu Address

AU3001234190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1713 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, at a meeting with representatives of workers collectives from all over Romania; in Bucharest, on 30 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Announcer] This afternoon, representatives of some workers collectives throughout the country and of citizens from various towns met with the president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, Ion Iliescu. The meeting was attended by miners from Maramures and Alba; metallurgical workers from Hunedoara; and delegates of citizens of the towns of Simeria, Resita, and Arad. [passage omitted]

[Iliescu] First of all, I want to thank you for your warm words of solidarity, which are encouraging for us.

People have spoken here about the pressures to which the Front was exposed and they appealed to us not to give up. Such an idea has never crossed our minds, because we do not have any kind of personal interest to defend in all this struggle. If we are making efforts, we are doing it in the belief that we are doing it for the people. As long as we are going to be understood and supported by the people, it is worth any sacrifice.

Our force lies only in the strength and power with which the people support us. If we are serving a just cause—and I think that a just cause is understood and supported by the whole nation—then there is no force that can defeat us. Therefore, certainly we will never give up. It is important to succeed in preserving this unity of our whole nation around the platform of the Front and around the objectives which are leading our Front.

In connection with what happened, I believe that these days represent a new moment from a quality point of view in our political evolution. If the December events marked a people's consensus around the overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship—and I believe that there was a unanimous feeling in this respect and in the way of thinking of all strata of the population in connection with overthrowing the dictatorship—then it was followed by a process of differentiation, a process that happens after each revolution, because there are various interests of various strata of categories or different political formations. This process of differentiation went on in January and even reached more acute elements of political confrontation. Political confrontation is not an unusual thing. In any society there are conflicts of interest which lead to clashes, but it depends how far they reach. We are not against political confrontations or against the confrontation of ideas. As a matter of fact, nature created us to be different. If we look around, we are more than 5 billion people who inhabit the planet and there are more than 23 million people in our country. Still, there are no two people alike: neither in

physiognomy, nor in physical structure nor in intellectual abilities, nor in any other way. I believe that this diversity that nature created makes us very different from each other. In our way of thinking we are also different. You will never find two people who think alike. Even in the most elementary cell of society, in a family, there are conflicts. Husbands and wives, the closest to each other, bound by the deepest feelings, can reach a stage of friction. This is a law of nature, this struggle of differences more or less conflicting. At a higher level, certainly, these confrontations and differences of opinions are inevitable. And in a living society, it is not possible that differences of opinion and confrontation of ideas and interest do not exist. However, this is not what makes the big problem.

As far as we are concerned, as a society, we have a very difficult situation at the moment. Our society has emerged, through an explosive process, from a dictatorship that led the economic, social, and political life of the country to a moment of great crisis. The preservation of unity of the people around these objectives and the necessary efforts to overcome these difficult moments that will still continue for a long time, are our sole force to get out of these difficulties. Anything that would undermine the force of this unity of our people will only make our efforts more difficult and maybe will even move us away from this objective and push us toward an even more serious situation.

This was the subject of our dialogue with these political parties. As you could see, we made efforts to find a way for dialogue, not understanding, because it is obvious that there are many problems on which we have different positions. We wanted to reach a certain understanding, however, because all these problems should be the object of the confrontation of ideas, of platform confrontations. People should be the ones who decide who represents what, who is worth what, and thus who represents a guarantee for this nation to lead the destinies of this country. But not through force or confrontations that push the country to chaos. They agreed that it would be in nobody's interest to have an escalation of the current situation and the destabilization of the country.

Even they agreed that at the moment the only force that more or less preserves the stability in our country is the Front and that the destabilization of the NSF means the destabilization of the situation in the country. This was voiced at the table during talks.

So, last Saturday [27 January], during our discussions, face to face we put forward different opinions, but we did not reach any conclusions. They were criticizing us; we were expressing differing opinions—so we did not reach any political decision on a way we could work out a cooperation and a political dialogue during this period leading up to elections.

The concrete idea of a demonstration that they had prepared also emerged. We warned them against the danger that the clashes of some groups can present during such manifestations because that day another demonstration in Bucharest's First Sector and of some other Bucharest enterprises in another square of the city were planned. Therefore, we decided that they should organize this demonstration in the University Square; the others had their demonstration programed for Banu Manta and other squares. Initially, they planned a march in the center of Bucharest, to arrive in front of this building, and they even declared their intention, printed on banners, to ask the Front to resign and be replaced by a temporary government.

We told them that they should not play with such things because in this way they risk pushing things toward violent clashes, toward a development of events that would be difficult to control. Thus, we drew their attention to things. We ended the talks with a positive conclusion because it was a constructive dialogue and we reached some mutually acceptable understandings.

We said that it would be useful for our country if we were to come out together in front of the television cameras and declare these conclusions that we had reached. They avoided this, saying that they had to have long discussions with the leadership of their parties, to whom they would relate the conclusions of our talks, and thus they could not come with us on that same Saturday night to the television studio. We did that. On Saturday night we presented the conclusions of that dialogue on television; you could have seen us. They did not do that on the second day either. Next morning, they said that they watched us on television and were absolutely in agreement with the way we related the dialogue, that we made an objective presentation in accordance with the way our discussions were held and that we presented truthfully our joint conclusions. But then we said: You did not do the same thing, although it would have been good to show that we reached joint conclusions. You have decided to do it in this way. However, we hope that you will keep your promise in connection with the development of the demonstrations.

Cimpeanu told us that he took all measures to ensure that the demonstration would take place in University Square. And then, at about 1200 hours, as it was announced, groups started moving from University to Victory Square. In Banu Manta, the demonstration had already taken place and they heard that others are moving toward Victory Square, so they also came along.

So, in the end, we witnessed what you saw. They came in an agitated state of mind and with resolute demand that the Front resign and turn the power over to the people and to Coposu. And the banners in the Square were along this line: The resignation of the Front; temporary government. And there was a challenge: Either you come out to the balcony and declare that you resign or we attack the building. This was the atmosphere prevailing during those demonstrations.

I went to talk to their delegation headed by their party leaders, about continuing the roundtable dialogue. All

this under the pressure of the demonstrations outside. Of course, there is no need for me to tell you what happened because you saw how things happened. However, we made them understand that they should not harbor the illusion that we will give up. And the rest of events you know.

I believe that they miscalculated things. All week, spontaneous demonstrations have been held with participation of a few hundred people. Many of them do not have a job; they roam the Bucharest streets. However not all of them are that type. Some of them are young people of good faith who have some doubts. It is not compulsory for everybody to understand our positions and agree with us. Of course, this is a way in which people, mainly young people, want to express their points of view, and there were some protest demonstrations against us. From these events—to which we did not answer in any way, and we did not intervene at all, and we did not even take measures since they violated the rules that were established in order to avoid disturbing traffic in the center of the town—they assumed that we were afraid of such demonstrations, that we were not capable of halting them, and that we were not able to come out in the street. That is why they decided to organize a more solid demonstration which will intimidate us and will force us to give up our power. This was their initial calculation, which they declared.

Two nights previously, a member of the Liberal Party heading a delegation in discussion with a representative of ours said: What kind of illusions do you have? You still have 2 days to live and then you lose the game, you lose the power.

That is, they had preconceived ideas by that time, they were sure of their victory.

[Roman's voice is heard] I want to say that I asked Mr Coposu to calm people in the street and ask people to stay calm, and he said: You, you are only nothing. You are only a couple of hundred, you are not representatives. We are hundreds of thousands in the country.

[another unidentified voice] Yes, but we are millions.

[Roman's voice again] Then Mr Coposu took the microphone and instead of calming people as Mr Iliescu did when we had the upper hand, he said: We are in the middle of discussions, stay put. That is, he tried to ignite them even more.

[Iliescu] Do not leave until we reach the results that you want, that was what he said. Thus they started off on the basis of mistaken calculations. They made illusions that they could overthrow us by force.

After things had reached a turning point and when, by evening, especially in the cities, people saw that it was no joke with those who resort to provocations. Thousands of people made an appearance filling the square while they were isolated, being in the minority. Then, we said to ourselves, we were here a few hours with the representatives of other parties, with the representatives of the workers in the square, and in the end we reached the stage that we had to protect them because it was dangerous for them to get out of the building alone. We did the same thing the following day at their headquarters, because these were not violent measures taken on purpose.

Then they began to change their policy. When they realized that they had lost the game, that evening and the following morning they began to spread—through foreign press representatives—the idea that the Front had calculated everything beforehand, that it had worked out things to provoke these clashes and that all this mass pressure was not a spontaneous pressure and that we were the ones who had called the forces to intimidate them [unintelligible interjection; words indistinct], and thus this was a measure of violence on our part.

I wanted to give you a picture of things. As far as the manner in which you react, the manner of your reaction toward the country is concerned, this is a qualitatively new moment in the development of our political activity.

If, in December, those who participated directly in the mass movement were confined to a few centers, then this time, when the country realized the existing danger of undermining the successes achieved after so much struggle and suffering, and the fact that the country's genuine forces are undermined by hostile forces, there was a movement that marked a qualitatively new moment in our political development.

This awakening of political awareness of our country's citizens is a genuine mass political school, which, I believe, in these 2 days has became conscious of the fact that if we want to defend what is ours, we must do it with the participation of the people's masses. Strength lies in the hands of the people. No one will ever be able to shake this strength if the people are united and will promptly oppose those who want to deal a blow to our country's interests.

However, as far as our political interests are concerned, I want to tell you that we are not for retaliating with violence to violence. Our strength does not lie in this. We have enough strength not to have to take such measures. On a political level, we gain more by winning at a political level and not through violent measures. Violent measures spell victims. Victims always give birth to compassion in people's feelings. And we want neither martyrs nor victims which will be deplored. In political confrontation, we have to defeat them at a political level. Therefore, the wise statement by Tokes is welcome. This is the way of political wisdom. We have to disarm them with political weapons and not through violent measures or detestable pressure.

Therefore I would like to emphasize this thing so that you may also properly understand our conduct. It has to be clear that despite this moment of confrontation which

they have provoked, approaching the threshold of violence, we have called for the continuation of dialogue. And we have spoken about our continued availability for open dialogue with those who want to respect the rules of democratic dialogue. We have further made it understood, and we emphasize that we are not ready to yield to any kind of pressure, but we are ready to discuss things rationally and in conditions of a democratic dialogue. Therefore, apart from the three parties—there are actually some twenty now—the positions of the other parties are closer to ours. Some adhere to the Front's platform and will even go along with us. In these political confrontations they have also taken stances against those historic parties and have condemned their way of action and their attempt at force.

We have decided that beginning Thursday [1 February], we will start a dialogue with all parties. We favor a roundtable at which all parties will be present; we want to listen to the opinion of all, and we want to find a way to involve them in responsibilities for this period in the country's political activity. As the saying goes, it is easy to make policy, to sit aside, to have no responsibility for anything, and to criticize. To criticize while standing outside, not making any efforts, is the most comfortable life. Who is not fond of living in opposition, especially if he is enjoying a secure life? It is more difficult to engage in work, and while working to solve problems, to assume responsibility for everything, and also to account to the people for everything you do.

Those who hold the power are always subject to criticism. Every dissatisfaction is directed against those who are in power and who bear responsibility in the state. Therefore, versatile political forces usually do not get involved in political responsibility at moments of crisis in society. We have actually engaged in suicidal work. He who gets involved in moments of profound social crisis is doomed and will be judged even by his friends, even by those who at the beginning supported him, because difficulties will begin. We will continue to have difficulties. It is not an easy job that awaits us. [passage omitted]

[Iliescu] A last question: We are confronted by numerous problems. The essential problem for us is to be able to restore the country's situation, to restore the situation on the whole, and primarily to restore the national economy.

For this purpose, we have to create everywhere, as someone said, conditions of calm and balance, so that people may focus on problems concerning their work and the production process. I was glad to hear what some speakers said—namely that productive activity is progressing under normal conditions. And in the mining area of Maramures, I understand that work proceeds under favorable conditions. The miners in the Jiu Valley let me know, yesterday, that they have scored high plan indicators. There they had...from there the military left—there were thousands of military—immediately after December, thus leaving very many vacant jobs. At this point they do not have enough jobs for all the people who want them. Thus, even in mining there were people who, after measures had been taken recently, came and found employment. All jobs have been filled in the mining area of the Jiu Valley. And the results are gladdening.

In other areas, such as Hunedoara, I understand, work is progressing properly. At the meeting, the representatives of the unit told me that work proceeds under positive conditions and this is gratifying. It is essential to succeed in ensuring the best possible working conditions in the basic sectors of the economy. We have not succeeded in achieving this everywhere, yet. We are concerned with ensuring balanced supplies and, at least from the point of view of the people's frame of mind and of organizing work, we have to create the best of conditions, so that people may work in quiet and produce more than is needed by society, so that we will not face an inflation and a whole series of shortfalls throughout the economy.

Therefore, the main task is to focus on these goals. If we succeed in maintaining a balance, then we have positive chances both in the political and social life to ensure the normal progress of our life.

This being said, I want to express thanks to all of you, and to wish you success in your work. [end recording]

Iliescu Makes Statement on Nationality Rights

LD3101042590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] One source of tension in Romania is shaping the rights of nationalities. This was one of the subjects of an interview given by the National Salvation Front chairman, Ion Iliescu. Peter Marvanyi reports from Bucharest.

[Marvanyi] Chairman Iliescu gave a statement to the Romanian paper MAGYAR SZO, which is published daily in Bucharest. He explained that he himself and the Council of the Front support granting the nationality rights demanded by the Magyars. However, the haste [sietseg] is to the advantage of—and I quote—those former Romanian comrades who would use the passions caused by the overly rapid measures to restore their rule and the division of the country.

Iliescu Meets Bucharest Enterprise Workers 26 Jan

AU2601153690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 26 Jan 90

["NSF Council President Meets Employees of a Large Bucharest Works"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—On the morning of Friday, January 26, Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, and other members of the NSF leadership met with collectives of

working people in various production halls of the heavy-duty machines enterprises in Bucharest. They looked into specific ways to solve problems related to better working and living conditions and tackled a number of social aspects, the housing question included. They also met representatives of the over 16,000 employees of that enterprise, most of whom expressed the wish to see the National Salvation Front run in the elections due in May.

Iliescu, Roman Meet With More Bucharest Workers

AU2601225490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman Meet With Bucharest Workers"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—The president of the NSF Council, Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Petre Roman and other Council members met on Friday afternoon with representatives of several of Bucharest's working collectivitics.

Ion Iliescu asked the participants to state their position as well as that of the collectivities they represent on the opinions given in the press and on various occasions regarding the recent decision of the National Salvation Front to take part in Romania's free elections on 20 May.

The participants in the meeting were also asked to say what the major problems of their economic units were in order that they be solved as quickly as possible.

Roman Meets Representatives of Railroad Workers

AU2901230990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Prime Minister Petre Roman Meets Representatives of Railway Workers"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—On January 28 in the evening Romania's prime minister, Mr. Petre Roman, had an interview with representatives of Romanian railway workers upon their request. Attending the meeting were executives of the Ministry of Transport and of the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance.

The meeting was held at the headquarters of the Ministry of Transport. The major aspects discussed on the occasion were of a social and professional nature, as included in the platform- programme of the Independent Free Trade Union of locomotive mechanical operators in Romania.

During the interview Prime Minister Petre Roman discussed with those present ways to solve the issues included in the platform- programme of railway workers.

Roman Holds Discussions at Brasov Enterprise

AU3001113490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman today left for Brasov where at this hour he is conducting a discussion with the members of the Tractorul enterprise collective on two main groups of problems regarding the current activity of the unit: the autonomy of this unit and the living conditions of the members of this working collective.

Talks Described

AU3101001890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1959 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/1/1990—On January 30, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman met in Brasov with the administration boards of the tractor and trucks manufacturing enterprises. The talks conducted at the headquarters of the two units were attended by other employees, by workers and experts, by representatives of the trade unions in Brasov.

The dialogue centered on aspects related to the activity of the two units. A number of questions were brought up relative to the way in which the autonomy of enterprises should be ensured, to the difficulties they encounter as an outcome of the country's overall economic situation and of a number of internal issues concerning labour organization, the updating of equipment and the investment to be realized. It was also pointed out that there still were a number of obstacles owing to the fact that the laws preventing a fine cooperation with end-users were not abrogated. During the talk conducted at the "Tractorul" enterprise, the issue of setting the prices of the tractors to be delivered to private citizens was also tackled. It was shown that part of the applications put forth were solved, that solutions were being sought for to the others, while still others had to be analysed and carried into effect by the administration boards of the two units and their collectivities. During the talks, which also covered aspects related to wages, pensions and social security, Prime Minister Petre Roman informed of the difficulties in the national economy, more particularly as a result of deficiencies in the national electric grid system and the lack of raw materials.

Further Report

AU3101105990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1007 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Meeting of Romanian Prime Minister in Brasov"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/1/1990—Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, met on January 30 in Brasov with representatives of the staff of the "Tractorul" enterprise upon their request.

A package of technico-economic and social problems were discussed in order to make the production of the

enterprise meet the new demands of the national economy, the tractor builders requested inter alia the autonomy of enterprises in setting plan indices, the integration of the activities of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; strengthening of their own school system to train the workforce.

The same day, Prime Minister Petre Roman met with the truck builders of Brasov, most of whom raised problems similar to those raised at "Tractorul". The list of proposals and claims was retained for consideration, when answers could not be given in order to make an in-depth analysis and find solutions. Stressing solutions should be found by direct efforts to improve the contracts and collaboration with various partners, the prime minister pointed out that these should necessarily include problems related to pay, working and living conditions of the people.

Roman, Peasants Union Representatives Meet

AU3101001690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2012 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—Upon the initiative of the Free Peasants' Democratic Union of Romania, Prime Minister Petre Roman had a meeting on 30 January with representatives of the peasantry across the country. The meeting concentrated on questions of organizing work in agriculture directly related to the latest regulations in this sphere. They analysed specific aspects of the work in cooperative farming units, in state units and individual farmsteads, the farmers' incomes, the experts' condition as well as other questions. Several problems raised were solved during the meeting and others, more complex ones, were to be found subsequent solutions.

Peasant Party Leader Discusses Front Council

PM3001115290 Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Jan 90 p 5

[Interview with National Peasant Party Chairman Corneliu Coposu by Pierre Bois in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—LE FIGARO: How did you react after the demonstration in which Nicolae Ceausescu was booed?

Corneliu Coposu: I was at the demonstration, too. People want to conceal that fact. It was not just the Front's supporters who were there. Despite police surveillance, we had reorganized an embryonic party over the years. And the demonstration was above all spontaneous. All Bucharest was there. The pressure had been so strong that people came out into the streets to protest. Shots were fired, and I saw seven young people killed.

LE FIGARO: How were your relations with the Front Council established from the start of the revolution?

Corneliu Coposu: There are some very able men in the Front Council, others are less able. Those who were in the system and who were just removed by the Conducator's whim. At first, I was able to record a 3-minute speech, but the Front was already monopolizing radio and television.

LE FIGARO: Do you have other examples of the Front curbing your action?

Corneliu Coposu: Our newspaper has not yet been published because of a paper shortage. We have found paper. We have obtained permission from the ministers. We may be able to publish on 29 January. It is important not to forget that the printing presses belong to the state.

LE FIGARO: Is that why you adopted a tougher tone, publishing a communique in which you said you were ready to form a coalition with the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party if the Front intends to stand by its decision to run in the elections.

Corneliu Coposu: We do not want to be manipulated, but Front Chairman Ion Iliescu seems to be sincere. Mr Brucan was chief editor of SCINTEIA (the Communist Party organ) when I was charged. He wrote editorials calling for the death sentence. The Front has a facade formed of respectable moral people but we do not have confidence in former Communists who were provincial "gauleiters" and who are already trying to draw a distinction between Gheorghiu-Dej's communism and that of Ceausescu.

What the people reject is communism as a whole.

LE FIGARO: What will be the basis for the roundtable scheduled for Saturday to be attended by all the parties and the Front to draw up a new electoral law?

Corneliu Coposu: We are expecting many problems, we intend to go to the meeting with our own lawyers.

LE FIGARO: How many members have you gained since you have been able to form your party again?

Corneliu Coposu: We do not have a computer. We count on our fingers here. The exact numbers are 37,000 in Bucharest and 147,000 in the provinces.

LE FIGARO: Do you think that Sunday's demonstration will be peaceful?

Corneliu Coposu: This demonstration has been called in the very specific framework of the law. We will avoid any provocation.

LE FIGARO: Do you think that normal elections can be held in Romania?

Corneliu Coposu: It will be very difficult. We are in the Balkans here. We will exert pressure for the international press to be present. That is a guarantee of freedom.

LE FIGARO: Some Front members describe the National Peasant Party as a right-wing party and suggest that the fascist Iron Guard emerged from its ranks?

Corneliu Coposu: The Peasant Party is and always has been a christian democratic party. Before the war, the right described us as "communards." With regard to

collusion with fascism, I must take this opportunity to emphatically reaffirm that I was also imprisoned from 1941 to 1944.

LE FIGARO: What fears do you still have for Romania? Corneliu Coposu: The danger which persists is the possibility of sliding toward totalitarianism once again.

Hungarian Federation of Romania Registered

LD3001110790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania has been officially registered at the Bucharest Court of Justice. At yesterday's session of the provisional executive committee, it was announced that the federation will begin dialogue with every Romanian party and organization in the interest of guaranteeing nationality rights. They also wish to establish close links with the other nationality federations functioning in the country. They announced that organizations of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania have been founded in 17 Romanian counties and the membership by now is close to 300,000.

Liberal Party Denies Organizing Demonstration

AU3001152490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The National Liberal Party announces herewith that it has no knowledge about any mass demonstration organized today, 30 January 1990, under the aegis of the National Liberal Party with headquarters on Nicolae Balcescu Street No 28.

The National Liberal Party does not assume any kind of responsibility in connection with such a demonstration at which placards bearing the name of the National Liberal Party are used.

National Liberal Party Communique

AU3001194890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1814 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Communique issued by the temporary management committee of the National Liberal Party in Bucharest on 30 January—read by announcer]

[Text] The National Liberal Party [NLP] communicates to the public the following: We have been accused of initiating actions meant to destabilize the political situation in the country. This accusation is a serious distortion of the truth. The manifestation organized on Sunday, 28 January 1990, under perfectly legal conditions, was meant to express our position on certain nondemocratic aspects that continue to be manifested in our political life.

It should be mentioned that the demonstrations were attended by a large number of citizens and organized groups, who during the demonstrations wanted to affirm their nonalignment to any political formation, cheering "we are not parties." It has to be emphasized that the NLP did not call for the resignation of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. On the contrary, we proposed solutions that we considered completely justified in order to overcome the current deadlock, after the declaration of the NSF representatives to run in the coming elections.

Such a decision means turning the NSF into a political group. In this case the NSF should include, in a democratic way, representatives of all political groups that have been set up legally, who should participate in an equal way to all the decisions taken by the council.

We believe that the attempts to discredit us before the public, accusing us of intending to call for the dismantling of the NSF, is a provocation that is meant to undermine the political atmosphere of our country. We still do not know in what way such a confusion could be created, as we stressed during our roundtable talks, held on Sunday, 28 January, at the NSF headquarters with President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Likewise, we believe that any statements which are completely tendentious, such as those made on television by Mr Circiumaru, president of the Socialist Democratic Party, on the three parties' attempt at a coup, want to discredit us and shows political immaturity.

We believe that reason will triumph. History will condemn all those who incite to violence and who resort to abuses and lies. Currently we need calm in order to protect our country's still fragile democratic structures. The provocative statement claiming that participants in Sunday's demonstrations were paid and given drinks and that the NLP members initiated violence are of unqualifiable bad faith. These untrue statements come from those who incited violence and bring chaos to the country. How can people work in enterprises if such statements are made? We demand that all provoking actions and all irresponsible acts that created tension and caused a state of insecurity for the headquarters and members of our party should be punished according to the law.

In conclusion we stress that liberalism, manifested in political life through democracy and in economic life through freedom, initiative, and enterprising spirit in no way means putting the country up for auction.

The country's wealth was sold during the dictatorship, and we all felt it. Liberalism creates foundations for the prosperity that it has brought about in other parts of the world as well.

We ask for the trust of all people of good faith and good will, and we ask them to support democracy and truth.

The NLP's always dignified and patriotic attitude will also be seen during these moments when the falsification of the Romanian revolution is attempted.

Party Leaders on Dialogue With NSF

AU3101132790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1225 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Statements of Political Party Leaders"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/1/1990—Started last week, political dialogue between the National Salvation Front [NSF] and the country's political parties will be resumed in the coming days, as it was announced. On the real chances of this dialogue, the leaders of the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party [NLP] and the Social Democratic Party gave their opinions to ADEVARUL newspaper, which we summarized below.

Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party: I always thought—and still do—that dialogue is necessary. A basic condition for dialogue is to avoid distortions or interpretations, that have nothing to do with reality, as well as incitations. Together with Mr Iliescu and Mr Roman we have had encouraging results in setting mutually accepted points of view, and I believe that the positions can be brought nearer to one another in all fields. If the situation returns to normal I think we can resume our dialogue Thursday [1 February].

Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, and Dinu Patriciu, member of the party's initiative committee:

We took part in an open and constructive dialogue with Mr Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman as part of which questions of principle were raised—to integrate the emerging political forces into decisionmaking, to monitor it and coordinate its democratic course in the country, he said. Never did the NLP demand the dissolution of the NSF, they showed, it only upheld the idea that political forces should take part in the Front Council's decision-making. Thursday morning, the NLP leaders stated, we can resume our dialogue with Mr Iliescu, as it was agreed.

Sergiu Cunescu, president of the Social Democratic Party:

Clearly, a dialogue is the only viable way to a democratic life in our country. Its failure may lead to confrontation, to a polarization of power, and eventually to totalitarian practices.

Our country cannot join the civilized states unless it fully observes the rules of democracy in political life, and dialogue is a necessary condition, though it may not always be enough. We do not believe in a dialogue that is a pretext for sterile polemic, for useless mutual reproaches and accusations, Sergiu Cunescu went on to say and added that it was the view of his party that political problems can never be solved in the street.

Electoral Bill Submitted for Public Debate

AU3101002190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—As was announced at last week's end representatives of the 28 parties and political groupings in Romania and of the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council met in a round-table conference to discuss the content of an electoral bill which is to make the basis of the general elections scheduled for May 20, 1990. The representatives of the respective political parties and of the National Salvation Front will meet again this week after a draft decree-law on the election of the parliament, of Romania's president and of local councils has been released. The document was printed in today's papers and submitted for public debate.

The electoral bill is set on a number of basic principles according to which the political power in Romania belongs to the people and is exercised according to constitutional provisions, the principles of democracy, freedom, the ensurance of human dignity and the inviolability and inalienability of fundamental human rights. As for the country's government, the bill envisages a pluralist democratic system, the separation of legislative, executive and legal power and the election of political leaders in the state for one or for two terms at the most. Romania's parliament including the Assembly for Deputies and the Senate the country's president and county, town and commune councils are elected by freely expressed universal, equal, direct and secret ballot.

The bill provides for the observance of proportionality of representation of the population of all nationalities in both the parliament and the local bodies of state power, all while the exercise of the citizens' electoral rights will be respected. Furthermore, modalities are envisaged for the course of the election campaign, which starts once the date set for the elections has been made public and ends two days before the votes are to be cast. Moreover, it provides for ways to elect the parliament and Romania's president and to organize the elections.

Romanian citizens 18 years of age are entitled to elect and be elected in the Assembly of Deputies which will include 235 deputies while the Senate will include senators, elected according to the population of the counties, and representatives of the Army (minimum eligible age 30).

The nominations will be made undiscriminatorily by parties, political groupings or public organizations. In the case of independent candidates nominated by at least 25 electors for the same constituency, the respective parties and organizations are entitled to one nomination alone. Furthermore, the same candidate may be registered in only one constituency.

Opting for a bi-chamber structure of the country's future parliament (the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate), the draft decree-law released today aims at imparting to

it a complex function as a constituent assembly and, respectively, as a legislative power. This system is considered to provide for balance in the exercise of legislative power as the Senate will play a counterweight role in the aggregate of parliamentary activities. Noteworthy is also the fact that, according to the electoral bill, the president of Romania is to be elected directly by the people as a whole, which boasts the advantage that the head of state will belong to no political party or grouping that enters the election race.

New Police Chief Interviewed on Securitate

PM2901115090 Paris LIBERATION in French 22 Jan 90 p 21

[Interview with Police Chief Dumitru Batlan by Jean Hatzfeld in Bucharest; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Bucharest—In response to an appeal by the Students League, 2,000 young people demonstrated in University Square on Sunday, 21 January, to condemn the lack of real change in the universities since the dictatorship fell on 22 December, and to secure the resignation of prominent members of the National Salvation Front Council who were compromised by the Ceausescu regime. The militia has been dissolved and replaced by the police. Its chief for the city of Bucharest, appointed by the National Salvation Front Council, is Major General Dumitru Batlan, who had been ousted 5 years ago by the conducator. On the eve of the trial of former dignitaries of the regime, he answered our questions.

LIBERATION: Under what conditions are the people who are to appear in the forthcoming trials being held?
Dumitru Batlan: Since 18 January, the last 11 people whom we were detaining were allowed to leave police premises. All the suspects arrested during the revolution are imprisoned in barracks around the capital, in solitary confinement. They are therefore under the Army's exclusive surveillance.

LIBERATION: In West Europe, these public trials of terrorists are often an opportunity for violence on the part of comrades of the people on trial. Do you fear attacks during these trials?
Dumitru Batlan: There will be no attacks around the places where the accused are detained or the places where they will be tried, thanks to stringent security measures. There is reason to fear violent attacks elsewhere aimed at terrorizing the witnesses, the judges, and the population, or at destabilizing the government. But I personally do not believe such attacks will take place. Our terrorists' only ideal was to defend a dictatorship. They were schooled to protect the Ceausescus. That dictatorship has been buried once and for all, and they know it.

LIBERATION: Is it possible to estimate the strength, organization, and efficacy of those who escaped?
Dumitru Batlan: No. Many have fled, mainly through Yugoslavia. Others are still hiding. Others have quietly returned home. We do not know who, how many, or how.

LIBERATION: In the first few days of the uprising, several prominent members of the government mentioned the presence of foreigners from the Middle East in the rebel ranks. What stage has the investigation reached?
Dumitru Batlan: There is no investigation which now confirms this theory.

LIBERATION: Securitate agents had professional qualities which were much superior to those of the militia. They had networks, protected people; they used bugging devices, kept files on people.... Do you plan to use these abilities by recruiting Securitate agents for the police.... For instance, those who were not involved in the fighting?
Dumitru Batlan: No former Securitate agent will be hired for the police. The National Salvation Front Council is very firm on that subject.

LIBERATION: What will happen to those Securitate experts?
Dumitru Batlan: Many will take civilian jobs. But the services and units of the former Securitate will be used again. After restructuring, they will be under the control of the Defense Ministry, never under the control of the Interior Ministry. That is clear.

LIBERATION: The Securitate had set up a incredibly efficient telephone bugging system. What has happened to it?
Dumitru Batlan: That system is now no longer functioning. But, as far as I know, it has not been physically dismantled.

LIBERATION: On Friday, 12 January, 3,000 rather hotheaded demonstrators inspired enough panic in the country's three main leaders to extract three hasty decrees from them. What were the police doing?
Dumitru Batlan: Nothing. We were in constant contact with the National Salvation Front Council leaders through the interior minister. And we decided not to intervene. At all events, if it had proved necessary to take action against people, the Army would have been given the job of doing so, because of its popularity with the people. The police could not now repress such a demonstration.

LIBERATION: Totalitarian regimes stifle minor incidents. Are you prepared to face various kinds of social violence with which you have very little experience?
Dumitru Batlan: For the time being we are seeing a drop in delinquency. We have only recorded one crime in the capital since the uprising. A drunken husband killed his wife. Drug and trafficking problems will appear, as they do everywhere else.

LIBERATION: The former militia is now the police. Aside from this change of name, what is the most

important measure taken by the National Salvation Front Council with regard to you?
Dumitru Batlan: As of yesterday, and for the first time in 45 years, policemen are no longer allowed to stand in political or trade union elections.

* Deputy Prime Minister Discusses Securitate

90EB0211A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20 Jan 90 p 5

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu by Radu Bogdan; date and place not given]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] Mr Voican, your face became familiar to viewers from the very first days of the revolution. We would therefore like to ask you to begin by introducing yourself.
[Voiculescu] I was born on 8 February 1941 in Bucharest. I graduated from the Caragiale high school in 1957. In 1963 I graduated from the Geology School of the Bucharest University; initially I had enrolled in "petroleum and natural gas," but I was was expelled in 1959.

[ADEVARUL] For what reason?
[Voiculescu] I was caught in the wave of reprisals against young people that followed the Hungarian revolution. I was viewed as a "hostile element," or as the expression went at the time, "a representative of internal reactionary forces, hand in hand with foreign reactionary forces." Those were the slogans used at that deplorable time; the official reasons given for my expulsion (as for many others in the same situation) were the following incriminating facts: I wore a cross around my neck and I was doing nonfigurative, modern painting, obviously as an amateur...

[ADEVARUL] What came after that?
[Voiculescu] For one year I worked as a welder at the Bucharest Drilling Enterprise. After that "purification" in an workers' environment, and following some appeals I filed—not to mention a certificate of "good behavior" I obtained—I was reenrolled at the faculty. I then transferred to the University.

[ADEVARUL] Where did you work after graduation?
[Voiculescu] First I worked at the Videle extraction rig, where I commuted for two years. Then I transferred to an institute of geological research for hydrocarbons, where I remained until 1970. That was when I was first imprisoned. Three months later the legal prosecution against me was lifted. I was accused of betraying work secrets and of industrial espionage: in a word, all falsehoods.

[ADEVARUL] What was actually behind those accusations?
[Voiculescu] I think it was meant to create certain appearances. In 1968 I was somewhat involved in the Christmas Day student demonstration, and that once again drew the attention of the Securitate to me. I was in touch with Ana Sincai, who had led the demonstration. So, in 1970, after a few months of detention, I was released for lack of evidence, without having been sentenced. Of course, after that I couldn't resume my job.

[ADEVARUL] In what direction did you turn?
[Voiculescu] Some friends helped me get a job as a proofreader for VIATA ROMANEASCA. I remained there until 1973, when I was able to resume working in my profession at a design workshop of the Institute for Mining Design and Technology, the major mining institute in the country.

[ADEVARUL] If I remember correctly, the institution where you resumed working as a geologist was dismantled at some point.
[Voiculescu] That's right. One year later, in March 1974, that prestigious institute was dismantled. It seems that Ceausescu was bothered by its name plaque when he passed by there. So, an institution of exceptional importance, with a 20-year tradition, and with an organization consolidated by vast experience, was done away with on a whim. We may try to redress that costly mistake in the mining activities field by reestablishing in Bucharest a central design institute.

[ADEVARUL] Where did you work after that "dictatorial" measure?
[Voiculescu] Our geotechnical workshop remained in Bucharest in the form of a branch affiliated to some other provincial institutes.

[ADEVARUL] What were you working on during that time?
[Voiculescu] Together with two of my colleagues we worked on the geotechnical studies of the great Rosia-Poeni project, which was one of the clearest examples of the irrational policy of gigantic, completely unjustified investments that virtually ruined the country's economy. That hypertrophic project, which effectively ruined a wonderful corner of the Apuseni Mountains in the Aries Valley, unfortunately was put into production...

[ADEVARUL] Let us return to more painful but decisive events in your past, namely to the Securitate investigations...
[Voiculescu] I don't know to which particular one you're referring!

[ADEVARUL] The ones in the past few years.
[Voiculescu] Aside from continuous shadowing, which at times was annoying, in 1977 I was picked up at work and detained for one day. That was probably in connection with the fact that I was often visiting Paul Goma, although I was not one of the signatories of his Charter. Or perhaps because I was a friend of Puiu Tepeneag and Virgil Tanase...

[ADEVARUL] I understood from television reports that more recently you were once again behind bars.
[Voiculescu] Yes. In July 1985 I was once again arrested. That time I was sentenced to one and a half years imprisonment for offenses that the Securitate used as a

pretext to question me for more than seven months, even after my appeal trial (the investigation didn't take more than five days...).

[ADEVARUL] What was the real reason for that new reprisal against you?
[Voiculescu] Actually there was no real motive. I was not engaging in any subversive activity. Although within my inner circle I was a fierce opponent [of the regime], like most ordinary citizens, I was convinced that no organized anti-state action was possible because of the absolute terror exercised against the entire society by the huge repressive apparatus of one of the most despotic of totalitarian regimes. To this day I don't understand what brought about my arrest. The only explanation I can venture is that, any institution that has sown so much fear was itself based upon institutionalized dread and thus, it was itself not free of fear. Anything that it did not understand or that was somehwhat uncommon and out of the ordinary, probably provoked concern. I suspect that confused fears stirred the Securitate in connection with some of my special interests, such as my studies of the morphology of ancient civilizations and traditional ancient and Oriental spiritual doctrines.

[ADEVARUL] In that case, what could it have been that piqued the Securitate's interest?
[Voiculescu] I think it was the fact that, in connection with my studies, I had surreptitiously xeroxed countless books, thus amassing a true library on esoteric subjects, revolving around the works of Rene Guenon and Iulius Evola, minor unknown authors who had nothing to do with the current issues that preoccupied the Securitate.

[ADEVARUL] Nevertheless, could this literary interest have been sufficient to justify arrest?
[Voiculescu] This is not a question that I can answer. Of course, there were also the relations I maintained with various other people.

[ADEVARUL] Such as?
[Voiculescu] Vasile Lovinescu, who was more than 80 years old and perhaps one of the most brilliant intellectuals and thinkers in post-war Romania, in connection with whom I was questioned in 1983. After the publication of "The Fourth Pilgrimage," I went to Falticeni to see him. Since then, he has been my spiritual father. Because of subjects concerning the beginnings of secret societies that we naturally discussed a lot in our numerous talks, especially on the telephone, the Securitate probably felt justified to intervene.

[ADEVARUL] Do you still feel any resentment about those past events and actions?
[Voiculescu] My thoughts and actions, just like ours, everybody's, must not be dominated by any resentment. I want to stress this most particularly. In my present official capacity I will not allow myself to be dragged into any actions motivated by the idea of revenge or account-settling. Such actions characterized the regime of terror under which we lived, and they must not be allowed to become its legacy to us. Our mission is a constructive one and it consists of reintroducing legality, ensuring respect for people's basic freedoms and rights, and eliminating any sign of abuse and arbitrariness. We are involved in creating a new framework for our political and public life, along the lines of a genuine national rebirth, in a spirit of complete democracy. Thus, while condemning the odious function of the Securitate as an instrument of repression of the entire Romanian society, we must still make a clear distinction between the spirit of the defunct organization as such and our attitude toward people who worked within its bureaucracy. Not all Securitate cadres should be incriminated en masse for the major crimes of its leaders.

[ADEVARUL] Is not such an attitude surprising on the part of a man who suffered directly at the hand of that institution?

[Voiculescu] Although I was subjected to the systematic rape of my private life, with the most painful personal consequences, I believe that I must detach myself from my personal experience and avoid any passionate subjectivism. Without passion and without hatred, as a great Latin historian said in the introduction to a famous book. Many Securitate officers and noncommissioned officers joined our revolution, arms in hand, against orders, while others helped us through passive resistance within the facilities where they worked. We cannot ignore this kind of individual behavior. So, without subjectivism, we must approach the complex human problems and matters of conscience created by the new situation as wisely as we can.

[ADEVARUL] Mr Voiculescu, our interview is just beginning, but for reasons of space we have to break here—certain, however, that there will be a further installment!

Official Confirms Gold Sent to Switzerland

AU3001135090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1248 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—A former translator of the Ministry of the Interior stated to the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" that in September-October 1980, he accompanied two secret air flights to Switzerland. The two charter flights carried gold ingots: The first carried 25 tonnes, the second 15 tonnes. The gold, escorted by officers and functionaries of the Finance Ministry, was loaded in trucks in Zurich, in the presence of members of the Romanian Embassy in that country. Estimations are that the money deposited in Switzerland would amount to 400 million dollars or, according to other sources to one billion.

The newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" which does not believe that these were the only flights of this kind calls on all those who took part in suchlike actions to help the Romanian authorities recover the tremendous values transferred abroad by the former dictator.

Witnesses Heard in Ceausescu Top Aides' Trial

AU3101093490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2051 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Trial of Dictator Ceausescu's Top Associates"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1990—The trial against the first batch of the former dictator's close associates, charged with complicity to genocide Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca and Manea Manescu continued on January 30 when the prosecution's witnesses were called to the stand.

Police and Army officers and NCOs, as well as individuals who held leading positions in Ceausescu's state apparatus took their oath and told of deeds and acts that prove the defendants to have contributed to the application of the repressive measures against the December 1989 revolution in Romania ordered by dictator Ceausescu and his wife both in Timisoara and in Bucharest.

After the witnesses had been heard both the prosecution and defence counsels applied for the admittance of further testimonial evidence which the court admitted partially.

The next session was set for February 1, 1990, at 09:00 hours, local time [0700 GMT].

Victims of Cluj County Repressions Reported

AU3101102490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2102 GMT 30 Jan 90

["Cluj County: A Tragic Balance Sheet of Repression"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1990—At end of investigations in Cluj County on the repression of the people's demonstrations against Ceausescu's dictatorial regime, the county Military Presecutor's Office announced that the exact number of victims stood at 26 dead and 61 wounded in Cluj, and 13 dead and 27 wounded in Turda.

Deputy Culture Minister Palfany Released

AU2701152190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1228 GMT 27 Jan 90

["Attila Palfany Released From Office"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/1/1990—Upon the proposal of the Ministry of Education and the Commission for Science and Education of the National Salvation Front Council, Mr Attila Palfany was released from the office of deputy minister of education. The statement announcing this measure specifies that Mr Attila Palfany did not observe the decisions of the government and the Ministry of Education, taking decisions by his own to separate the Magyar tuition from the Romanian one in such a manner that contributed to creating tension between the Magyar population and the Romanian population in some Transylvanian settlements.

Hungarian Areas Protest Dismissal

LD2901232190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] There have been protests in several Magyar-inhabited settlements of Romania against the dismissal of Attila Palfalvy, who until now was the deputy minister of education. The professor himself, speaking in the Hungarian-language broadcast on Romanian television, described the decision as hasty and unwarranted. The Hungarian Democratic Association of Romania demands in a petition that Attila Palfalvy be reinstated in office.

December Plan for Irrigation Termed 'Disaster'

AU2601180690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1020 GMT 26 Jan 90

["The Scope of Mystification—Irrigations or the Economic Disaster (I)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—Early last December a report on the state of irrigations planned for 1989 was submitted to the Romanian party and state bodies by a team led by the deputy director of the coordination department of the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry, Stanel Ghencea. Neither the Party's Central Committee, nor the Prime Minister's Office welcomed that report. What did it say? That of the 650,000 hectares planned for 1989, only 270,000 had been irrigated. "Accidentally", the largest irrigated area was in "the new agrarian revolution" hero county of Olt 92,800 hectares. It was followed by Galati (75,600 hectares), Tulcea (48,000 ha), Vrancea (40,000 ha), Constanta (14,000 ha).

Upon instructions from the dictator, 4,016,000 hectares of crop-field was supposed to be irrigated, but the actual figure was only 3,759,000 hectares. Failure to take into account not only the means but also the work force availabilities explains why a number of projects initiated many years ago are still unfinished. At the end of last year investment in unfinished projects stood at 31 billion lei.

Report Cites Economic Course Since World War II

AU2601180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1023 GMT 26 Jan 90

["The Scope of Mystification—The Truth About the Romanian Economy (II)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—Below are further excerpts from Prof. Mihail Haseganu's work "Remarks on the Course of the Romanian Economy After the Second World War" (the first part of which was broadcast in our regular service on 24 January).

As far as the balance of payments is concerned, it should be noted that during 1965-1975 not only was its deficit chronic, but it was also growing. Every year of the 1971-1975 interval ended up in deficits which eventually exceeded two billion U.S.dollars and were transferred to the foreign debt. A shrinking hard currency expenditure of marginal importance since it concerned non-commercial payments could not significantly improve the situation. On the other hand, imports for three of the said five years only amounted to 20 per cent of the exports in terms of value, and cannot be regarded as a major cause of the balance-ofpayments deficit.

The true causes of the economic problems had to be sought elsewhere, Mr. Haseganu says. A modern industry for export had been built until 1975 that was heavily dependent on imported raw materials. The development model was such that the production had to be twice or three times larger than the imports in terms of value by incorporating domestic materials and accessories, energy and especially high-skill labour. This model currently used in developed capitalist countries did not work in romania where decision-making was a tedious and highly centralized process which more often than not disregarded the law of value and its effects. Lack of flexibility and slow adjustment to world market demands, the numerically small and fluctuating foreign trade personnel left their mark on the quality and performance of foreign trade. To an ever growing extent export earnings were not enough to pay for the imports incorporated in the production for export. Hence the food exports, to make up for the loss. It was actually a national product export which led to a growing taxation, a narrower domestic market and dwindling consumption. To illustrate all this it should be said that from 1971 to 1974 export earnings grew 2.4 times, but payments on imports for production increased 3.4 times. The profits made by the processing of large quantities of food and their export as well as of domestic raw materials that are one hundred per cent efficient and the use of Romanian work force were increasingly squandered in an attempt to balance the gap outflow.

Deputy Minister Outlines Energy Supply Status

AU2701154990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1210 GMT 27 Jan 90

["Electric Power Last-Minute Developments"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/1/1990—Mr Tiberiu Cimpureanu, an engineer, deputy minister of electric power, informed the newspaper "ADEVARUL" that Romania imports roughly 1,100 mW of electric power daily. An average 700 mW come from the USSR, in line with long-term contracts. West Germany delivers 300 mW daily, free of charge, as part of a 50-million DM aid offered by that country's government. Furthermore, according to the power situation in a number of CMEA [CEMA] countries, the national power centre looks into possibilities to make more imports to equilibrate the country's power balance.

Internally, Romania now manages to supply 2,900 mW, which are generated by coal-firing plants. Power stations fuelled on hydrocarbons supply 4,000 mW or so daily, according to the amounts of gas and fuel oil at their disposal. Water power plants supplying electric energy at peak-load times generate only 1,000 mW daily because of the decline in the water reserves of storage lakes.

Romania's present daily capacity stands at 9,000 mW, which cannot meet all the requirements of industrial consumers that have to cut back on their consumption to thus provide for the stability of the national electric grid system.

The cuts do not affect the amounts of power supplied to domestic consumers, which virtually doubled over the period prior to the revolution to now stand at 1,000 mW daily.

Violence in Kosovo, Reaction Continues

Albanians on Strike

LD3001115190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—In a number of Kosovo enterprises, workers of Albanian nationality have been refusing to work to show support for demands heard over the past few days during demonstrations throughout the province.

There is evidence this morning of a political strike in a number of enterprises in Podujevo Djakovica, Urosevac, Prizren, and Gnjilane. In the Trepca mine in Stari Trg, third-shift miners refused to go down the pit last night. This morning first-shift miners of Albanian nationality left their workplaces and returned home.

Work is proceeding normally in other parts of the Trepca mine, and extra efforts are being made in the lead smelting plant to maintain operations.

Albanians Demonstrate

LD3001130790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—At the same time as in the past few days—that is, at exactly noon today—demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and separatists began again in Podujevo, Orahovac, and Kosovska Vitina. At the same time, it is noticeable that there are gatherings of citizens of Albanian nationality in several villages. The largest gatherings—about 1,000 Albanians in each location—were in the villages of Gadmlje and Muhadzer Babus in the municipality of Lipljan.

In Podujevo several hundred mainly young people of Albanian nationality first of all signed the "Declaration" which has been put forward in the last few days by alternative groups in Kosovo, and then they began shouting slogans. When the police intervened, the demonstrators withdraw to the outskirts of the town.

Militia Battles 'Armed Terrorists'

AU3001145790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] There is more unrest in Kosovo: The situation is worsening by the hour. Albanian separatists and groups of armed terrorists are increasingly opening fire on the members of the militia who are endeavoring to establish order.

About 2,000 Albanians are again demonstrating in Podujevo today. They are divided into three groups and are trying to get through to the center of the town. Exceptionally aggressive terrorists are shooting at the forces of law and order. One militiaman has been wounded and the security organs were forced to use firearms, as well as tear gas. They only shot into the air.

The demonstrations began in Podujevo at noon precisely. All Albanian workers stopped work and expressed their solidarity with the demands of the demonstrators. They just had breakfast and then went home. Not one Albanian shop is open today.

In front of the cultural center, a declaration has been signed which was organized by the Kosovo alternative movements.

Demonstrations and clashes with militia are taking place in the villages of the Lipljan commune. Last night a real war was fought in the village of Mali Alas between terrorists and militiamen. Two militiamen and two demonstrators were injured. Albanians employed in the Metalac firm in Janjevo and the miners in Goles and Magura stopped work and a group of inhabitants of the Donje Gazimlje village came to the quarry of the Muhadzer Babus mine and prohibited miners from working.

The situation is particularly dramatic in the Vitina commune. About 5,000 Albanians are demonstrating in the village of Mogila, but Serbs have also gathered who state that they will defend themselves with all means. This is so far the greatest danger for the escalation of interethnic conflicts.

There are also demonstrations in Djakovica. A group of about 100 Albanians which included quite a few children led by a railroad worker set off from the village of Vragolja this morning. Militiamen used tear gas after several warnings and they dispersed. Many people tried to save themselves in the Sitnica river but the militiamen had to save them so that they would not drown. The organizers of this protest were caught.

Almost all the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo villages were awake during the night. There is now no longer any village in the province where Serbs and Montenegrins are not organizing night watches. Armed inhabitants are patrolling the villages, not allowing themselves to be surprised by separatists.

The houses of Serbs and Montenegrins were stoned in the village of Magura near Lipljan. News is coming from Istok that the separatists are in possession of all types of arms and even light mortars.

Despite certain optimism that was induced among the Serbian and Montenegrin inhabitants by the decisive stands of the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council at yesterday's sessions great concern is prevalent here. Many people have already sent, or rather evacuated, their families to relatives outside Kosovo.

It is obvious that in Kosovo over the last few days Yugoslavia has been experiencing the most vehement attacks in the whole postwar period. Albanian separatists led by armed terrorists are trying under the guise of democracy to draw in the whole Albanian people in an

armed rebellion in the province. The decisiveness of the Yugoslav state is being tested. There are increasingly loud warnings here that if the state does not take more radical measures, the worst could happen.

Milosevic Meets Serbs, Montenegrins

AU3001180190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, held talks in Belgrade with representatives of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. They expressed great concern over the most recent escalation of terrorism by Albanian separatists in Kosovo and revolt and indignation because of the support Slovene and Croatian leaders extend to separatists in their attempt to separate Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia. It was decisively said that Serbia is capable of ensuring full protection of all Kosovo citizens from terrorist attacks by Albanian separatists. The representatives of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins told Slobodan Milosevic that Serbs and Montenegrins will not emigrate from Kosovo.

More Demonstrations in Gnjilane

LD3001190190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Gnjilane, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Demonstrations of Albanian nationalists continued today in the villages of Vlastica and Malesevo in Gnjilane municipality and were dispersed by security organs in the afternoon. The situation in Gnjilane remains extremely tense. The funeral is expected for the demonstrator who died yesterday, Resat Imeri.

In the demonstrations thus far in the Gnjilane municipality, the terrorists have attacked several persons of Serbian nationality. Most seriously injured is Tomislav Stojanovic, employee of the Binacka Morava construction enterprise, whose condition is critical. Returning in an official car from Pristina, he was forced to stop at barricades set up on the road into Gnjilane and was attacked and seriously injured by Albanian terrorists. He was taken by ambulance to the hospital in Skopje.

2 Demonstrators Die

LD3001193290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Two demonstrators are reported to have died in today's clashes with security forces in Malisevo, near Orahovac. Six policemen were injured, two of them seriously, in attacks against members of security forces.

During the afternoon, Albanian nationalists and separatists organized demonstrations in Vucitrn and Djakovica as well, and a group of 150 people demonstrated in Titova Mitrovica. Members of the militia intervened in all these disorders and succeeded in breaking up the demonstrators into several smaller groups, but they regrouped again on the outskirts of the town and attacked again.

According to the latest information, about 3,000 demonstrators from several villages are attempting to make their way into Lipljan. The police are stopping them and dispersing them with tear gas, but the situation continues to be increasingly dramatic. Meanwhile, in the cultural center in Lipljan, Serbs and Montenegrins are holding a protest meeting and are calling for arms to be given to them so that they can defend themselves against possible attacks by Albanian extremists.

Railroad Traffic Interrupted

AU3001195090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Railroad traffic in Kosovo territory, the lines leading toward Skopje and Pristina, was interrupted from 1505 to 1740 because of demonstrations, probably in Lipljan. Trains were stopped at the demand of the head of the Lipljan Railroad Station to ensure the passengers' safety. Traffic is back to normal now.

30 Jan Situation Reported

AU3101233890 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 30 January begins a 42-minute extended newscast with a 26-minute bloc devoted to reports from various communes in Kosovo. Reception is fair for the first half of the bloc of news from Kosovo, but deteriorates later on.

The first report is from Pizren: The announcer says that the situation is "rather severe and complicated," adding that there have been demonstrations, work stoppages, and protest meetings at a number of collectives. The workers presented "by now well-known demands. Further on, the report says that at about 1300, a group of about 300, mostly young people, demonstrated and chanted the slogan: "Democracy, Democracy." Demonstrations were also held in a number of villages. The announcer says that according to latest reports, small groups of demonstrators were still active in the outskirts of the city. The same report says that people in the city began today to sign the "Declaration" of the Kosovo alternative associations, entitled: "For democracy, against violence." The militia then intervened and dispersed citizens who were lining up to sign the petition.

The newscast continues with a report from Pec, where "a large group of people had assembled in the afternnon near the railroad station, shouting Democracy, Democracy." The security organs broke up this demonstration using tear gas. Other demonstrations were also reported later on in the evening and the announcer says that the militia are still trying to disperse them. Meanwhile, the local League of Communists (LC) Committee is said to

be holding an extended meeting to assess the situation and to determine what measures are needed to stabilize the situation.

A third report, this time from Titova Mitrovica, says that a group of about 50 young people assembled near the bus station, shouting the usual slogans. The militia have so far been unable to disperse them: "On the contrary, the group is growing continually." The same reports says that the first and second shift of miners at Stari Trg refused to go down into the mine. Instead they held a brief meeting and then went home.

In Djakovica, the announcer goes on to say, "demonstrations were held from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism." The demonstrators dispersed after the security organs used tear gas. Meanwhile, citizens were signing the petition "For democracy, against violence," organized by the Provincial Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Association of Philosophers and Sociologists of Kosovo, and the Pristina branch of the Association for Democratic Initiative of Yugoslavia. Attemps to organize demonstrations are continuing, concludes the report.

A rather indistinct telephone report from Urosevac says that a member of the LC Central Committee of the Republic of Serbia, whose name is indistinct, accompanied by local officials, was discussing with groups of workers in various collectives, where work stoppages occurred again today. They urged the workers to return to work. The report goes on to say that "up to 50,000 citizens attended the funeral of Rexhep Halimi," who was apparently killed during a recent demonstration. However, no other demonstrations took place today.

The announcer proceeds with another report, saying: "The funeral of Reshat Ymeri, who was killed in yesterday's demonstrations, took place today in the cemetery of the city of Gnjilane. It was attended by about 30,000 citizens of Gnjilane and the surrounding area." No incidents were reported. Meanwhile, work stoppages took place and citizens were also signing the aforementioned petition for Democracy, against violence.

Demonstrations were also reported from Suva Reka, where 10,000 are also said to have attended the funeral of another victim. The announcer says that the situation there is "dramatic" and that Serbian and local officials are trying to induce workers to return to work. The Balkan Rubber enterprise and several other factories are "paralyzed" by work stoppages.

"Small" groups of demonstrators were also reported to be active in Vucitrn. A local official is reported to say that most factories are working normally, with the exception of one factory, where a 30-minute work stoppage took place. The announcer says that "small" demonstrations took place also in Klinje and in Glogoc. The demonstrators are said to have chanted the usual slogan of "Democracy, democracy."

The aforementioned reports are followed by another three or four reports from other communes, but reception at this point becomes unmonitorable.

These local reports are followed by a 4-minute report on the condemnation of the demonstrations by the Socialist Alliance of Working People (SAWP) Presidium in Pristina and a 4-minute almost completely indistinct interview with the president of the Kosovo Trade Unions Council, calling on the workers for restraint.

This is followed by a bloc of federal and foreign news.

Drnovsek Meets Serbs, Montenegrins

LD3001215190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1811 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—In the palace of the Federation today, President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek received a delegation of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens from Kosovo Polje. Delegation members gave their view of the situation in Kosovo, particularly the latest events in the province.

Speaking at times very emotionally, they stressed that the situation is not only serious and extremely complex, as is often said, but has reached the boiling point, and all who live and work in Kosovo are in danger, particularly Serbs and Montenegrins. They frequently repeated that they had come to demand of the SFRY Presidency and the president personally that the rule of law function in Kosovo, and that the state of emergency measures be consistently implemented and observed.

President Janez Drnovsek said that it is also the SFRY Presidency's view that the situation in Kosovo is very serious and complex and that its causes are profound and long-standing. Recalling that the SFRY Presidency's decisions on the state of emergency in Kosovo have been in force for almost a year, he stressed that the state is ready to intervene when necessary.

However, President Drnovsek stressed, the use of force is not in anyone's interests, and we need to jointly seek lasting solutions which are acceptable both to Serbs and Montenegrins and to Albanians and all other nationalities in Kosovo. An increasing number of people in Yugoslavia are calling for ways out to be found which will lead to the pacification of the situation in Kosovo and which will open up the way to further democratic processes in Kosovo and in the country.

Drnovsek noted that a stable solution can only be arrived at with a gradual improvement of the economic situation and the essential dialogue of all who live in Kosovo. In solving the Kosovo question it is particularly important that the state and judicial organs function correctly, which should be reflected in an equal attitude toward citizens of all nationalities and must include the full protection of all those whose lives or property are endangered.

Presidency President Janez Drnovsek expressed every sympathy with the difficult situation of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and said that the SFRY Presidency will continue to follow the situation in Kosovo with great attention and will take the necessary steps in order to ensure the peaceful existence of all citizens of Kosovo. To this end the SFRY Presidency will, together with the presidents of the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, in the coming weeks examine all aspects of the situation in Kosovo in order to find a long-term solution in the interests of everyone in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Albanian Separatists Protest in Pec

LD3001195190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pec, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—At about 1600, Albanian separatists began demonstrating again in Pec. First a group of several hundred Albanian separatists and terrorists near the railway station attacked members of the security organs with stones. Later, at about 1700, the demonstrations spread to the Kafesnica District, which has a largely Albanian population, and initial reports say that they are large-scale.

At present security forces are intervening, using tear gas and rubber billy clubs. The demonstrators are very aggressive.

Kosovo SAWP on Alternative Groups

AU3101001190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received a report on the session of the Provincial Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, which is discussing the current political situation. Here is Kosta Krajincanic:

[Begin Krajincanic recording] The situation is becoming worse by the hour, Zivorad Igic, president of the Provincial Conference, said at the beginning of the session. There is almost nowhere in the province where the enemy's presence cannot be felt. At the moment, the enemy is helped by the unprincipled stand of the part of the Slovene and Croatian leaderships toward Kosovo events on the one hand, and by the activity of the so-called and self-appointed alternative groups on the other.

The basic characteristic of the hostile activity is its aggressiveness, ranging from beating up and stoning Serbs and Montenegrins and breaking into their houses to using firearms in attacks against militia. There are also some new slogans which directly call for fratricidal war, such as "Struggle, struggle" and "Blood, blood."

Regarding alternative groups, Zivorad Igic remarked that their programs have been made on a national basis and therefore fail to serve the rapprochement of the peoples, sowing discord and hatred among them. Therefore, the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo does not stand behind these associations, alliances, and committees, but assesses them as being involved in organizing the latest unrests in Kosovo. [end recording]

Kosovo Polje Youth Demand Evacuation

LD3001202590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—The young people in Kosovo Polje today asked their municipal authorities to work out a program for evacuating women and children of Serb and Montenegrin nationality if demonstrations by Albanian separatists assume broader destructive proportions.

It was also suggested that contact be established with citizens and families outside Kosovo interested in accepting the evacuees.

At their protest rally today the young people in Kosovo Polje demanded consistent implementation of special measures on Kosovo, introduction of legality into the daily life in the province, and also that a possible march by the demonstrators through this settlement not be allowed.

Deputy Premier, Minister Meet Serbs

LD3001221490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, Jan 30 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government is firm on the position that the country's integrity must be protected and, within it, the integrity of Serbia, and the safety of citizens and property guranteed, it was emphasized in today's talks of Yugoslav Vice-Premier Zivko Pregl, Interior Minister Petar Gracanin and some officials of the Republic of Serbia with officials of the restless Serbian Autonomous Province of Kosovo, headed by President of the Provincial Executive Council (premier) Jusuf Zejnulahu.

Pregl singled out as the most important tasks the restoration of public law and order in Kosovo and the ensuring of a normal functioning of the state organs in the province and of unhampered economic activity. It is a priority task to work directly with the masses and incapacitate ethnic Albanian separatists for instigating the people to demonstrate and strike. It is also necessary to create conditions for political communication with positive democratic forces, the Yugoslav vice-premier said.

[Words indistinct] Vice-Premier Pregl pointed out that it was necessary to differentiate between democratic pluralism and the separatist aspirations and goals of individual alternative groups and movements which, under the guise of democracy, offer hatred and inter-ethnic conflicts and all that is unacceptable at this point for life and work together in Kosovo.

Interior Minister Petar Gracanin promised that public law and order, the safety of the life and property of the citizens, particularly those threatened most, namely Serbs and Montenegrins, would be ensured in Kosovo.

Provincial Premier Jusuf Zejnulahu assessed the situation in Kosovo as dramatic and described the demonstrations by ethnic Albanians, now in their eighth day, as decidely hostile and aimed at undermining the constitutional order and separating Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Zejnulahu believes that the current situation in Kosovo necessitates a firm functioning of the state organs and prevention of a further straining of the situation in Kosovo, which is causing uncertainty, concern and fear among the Serbian and Montenegrin population, Zejnulahu said.

The latest unrest caused by ethnic Albanian separatists in Kosovo has claimed eleven lives, according to unofficial figures. Extensive material damage has been done, and the economy has suffered incalculable losses through strikes and sabotage.

Kosovo Serbs Call for Evacuation

AU3101101290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The situation in Kosovo has calmed down somewhat since 2000. Watches have been organized in almost all villages where Serbs and Montenegrins live. Protest meetings have been held in many places at which arms have been demanded for self-defense. The threat is even greater because it is becoming obvious that the present security forces are not at the moment able to stop more widespread unrest.

Young people in Kosovo Polje have demanded that a plan be formulated in the commune for evacuating women and children of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality if demonstrations by Albanian separatists become more extensive. It has also been proposed that contact be established with citizens and families outside Kosovo who are interested in accepting the evacuees.

Serbs Demand State Protection

AU3101120490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] A great rally was held this morning in Leposavic by 4,000 workers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who are demanding that the SFRY Presidency take all measures to protect the life, peace, and security of Kosovo's inhabitants. They state that they will not move out of the province even if it costs them their lives.

The inhabitants of this commune, which has a predominantly Serb and Montenegrin population, have also organized night watches. There was a similar situation last night in the village of Socanica, where about 1,000 citizens demanded that the state protect them from Albanian separatists.

'Terrorist Groups' Block Roads to Pristina

AU3101120090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Kosta Krajincanic report from Pristina]

[Text] Albanian workers are striking today in a large number of Kosovo collectives. As interpreted here, this is the precursor to new unrest and terrorist acts by Albanian separatists.

At the moment there is no information on what is happening throughout the province. Journalists will be briefed in more detail about this by the Kosovo Executive Council at a meeting which is due to start soon.

It has been discovered that transport in the province has been considerably hindered because terrorist groups are blocking some important roads leading to Pristina.

In a commentary published today, the Pristina JEDINSTVO concludes among other things: It is time for Yugoslavia to prove that it is a law-governed state and to settle accounts with the coalition of separatists and terrorists which are openly advocating civil war and bloodshed.

'Several Thousand' Students March in Belgrade

LD3001232190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2132 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 30 (TANJUG)—Several thousand students set out from the student centre in New Belgrade tonight marching to the Yugoslav Assembly building in the city centre and protesting against the situation in the Kosovo Province.

Carrying the Serbian flag and a flag of the centre at the head of their procession, students are chanting "We give our lives but we don't give Kosovo," "Give us arms to go to Kosovo" "Down with the coalition of Slovenia and Croatia," "Down with Drnovsek a' the head of the coalition" and other slogans.

They told TANJUG's reporter that they are angered by the situation in Kosovo. Outside the Assembly, they will demand urgent measures to normalize the situation in the province.

Student Protest Ends

AU3101081890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The protest meeting by students outside the SFRY Assembly building has ended. There are now about 150 mainly curious people in front of the building on Revolution Boulevard in Belgrade.

The student protest, motivated by circumstances in Kosovo, began last night at a meeting of students in the student district of the town. Students from all Belgrade residence halls then gathered outside the Federal Assembly building. Between midnight and 0130 [0030 GMT] there were about 5,000 students outside the Assembly who were demanding that the state of Yugoslavia and the state of Serbia take all measures in order to ensure a peaceful and secure existence for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

The students also stated that Serbia will not trade any part of its territory, nor any part of its people. A similar message was contained in the speech given by Aleksandar Bakocevic, member of the Serbian Presidency, who called on the students to disperse.

Kucan Registers as Slovene President Candidate

LD3001222190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Because there were no other proposals, the list of registered candidates for top state offices in the republic was approved during today's session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People]. Milan Kucan was registered as a candidate for the office of President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and Dr Miroslava Gec-Korosec, Ciril Zlobec, and Dr Peter Novak as members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Joze Smole was registered as the person who will head the Slovene socialists' lists of candidates in the elections for the republican assembly. [passage omitted]

Army's Party Chief Optimistic About Congress

AU3001155790 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 90 p 5

[Statement by Petar Simic, president of the Committee of the LC Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, "immediately after the temporary adjournment of the congress": "I Believe in the Force of Reason"]

[Text] During the actual preparations for the 14th extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], we anticipated that the highest gathering of the Yugoslav communists could end this way. It is unfortunate that this has happened. The blow dealt to the LCY is a heavy blow and follows very unfavorable circumstances. The real consequences cannot yet be foreseen. We need a break to compose ourselves and to continue the work. This is why I regard as logical the decision of the working presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium to temporarily adjourn the congress.

It would be superficial and impetuous to hold only the LC of Slovenia responsible for what had happened. The causes are complex and encroach primarily on differences in the concepts of how to carry out social reforms and transform the LCY. This has brought about an even deeper disunity in the LCY and a continuous deterioration in interethnic relations and hopes for resolution. Ultimatums, blockades, pressure, and faits accomplis have never helped to solve problems in relations between the people. After all, there is no point in searching for a culprit. We will draw the proper conclusions from all this. The stake placed on these political relations is great. It concerns the greatest values of our movement, and even the country. I believe in the force of reason, the responsibility and prudence of the delegates at the 14th extraordinary LCY congress who, in the continuation of their work, will make the decisions that will provide a rational basis for the reemergence of new unity in the LCY, without which there will be no progress.

Always led by the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole and Yugoslavia as a socialist federal community of the equal peoples and nationalities, and aiming for the ideals of our predecessors and Comrade Tito, the communists in the Yugoslav People's Army will make their full contribution so that the LCY can overcome as soon as possible the difficulties that have cropped up.

Vojvodina Daily on Congress Walkout

AU3001155990 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 90 p 2

[R. Balac commentary: "The Door Is Not Closed"]

[Excerpts] The split did not occur by chance, because the fierce clashes within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] have been going on too long for one to be able to close one's eyes to them. The congress has obviously not provided a solution nor found joint answers, unless one takes the split in the present LCY, such as it is, to be a solution.

By walking out of the congress, the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia made that last step that they envisaged at their congress. [passage omitted on statements by Ciril Ribicic, Stefan Korosec, and Milan Kucan]

The situation in the party, which until recently was a Yugoslav party, should not be taken tragically, as if the world has come to an end. The multiparty system that is gradually entering the political life of this country has also hit the League of Communists. This was a historic act, but it was difficult and painful for all who are in favor of preserving the unity of the Yugoslav party. Perhaps the split parts will cooperate better under the new conditions than they have so far, because what is in the foreground at present are the differences as a result of which one cannot see sufficiently clearly that the Yugoslav Communists nevertheless have many identical, common, or similar views on the key social problems. The rest of the LCY, its great majority, has anyway conveyed to the Slovenes, as well as to others who want to go or to leave the LCY, that the door is wide open. However, it was not said that it has been closed.

Political competition in which the future LCY and left parties will enter on an equal footing with others, depending on the strength and prestige which will be measured by the trust of the voters, will drive them to cooperate and to form coalitions if they want to gain power. This will be a new situation for the communist organization or organizations, and it will drive them to make political moves more soberly, and to push the differences and differences in the background unless they wish to be defeated. A communist and socialist idea and tradition has not expired with this congress, which, after all, could perhaps be resumed.

Slovene Delegates Explain Congress Walkout

AU3101000390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Emotions Decided"]

[Text] We awaited the decision by the Slovene delegation to abandon the Extraordinary 14th Congress, which was announced at exactly 2230 by Ciril Ribicic, at the exit of the blue congress hall in the Sava center. Ciril Ribicic, Sonja Lokar, Stefan Korosec, Milan Kucan, and many other delegation members, whom we did not recognize, came out of the hall. Sonja Lokar was crying and everyone looked more than serious, or rather one should say, concerned.

Journalists first of all rushed toward Milan Kucan. He did not refuse to talk, but it was difficult to hear what he was saying. We heard how he resignedly said: "We had to leave because all our proposals had been rejected in a majority vote." He continued by explaining to the army of journalists that they did not wait for the vote on the statute because, as certain amendments of the declaration were voted down, the same thing would happen to the statute. He admitted that the Slovene delegation had remained in a minority, but he endeavored to explain that this had been expected considering that the Slovene delegation numbered only about 160 members.

We asked him what had been crucial in deciding to abandon the congress. In my opinion, the rejection of Janez Kocijancic's amendment was pivotal, replied Kucan.

We stopped Mitja Harvas in the general furor. He could barely speak but he quickly pulled himself together and said: "I am not indifferent. This is not leading anywhere. We were outvoted. I am not interested in what Europe thinks and says. We have scheduled our conference for 2 February. We will make a decision then on what to do next and how."

There was a lot of commotion around the until-recently youth official, Tone Anderlic. He first of all refused to say anything, but, when we told him he had predicted this a long time ago and had even "carried it out" in the youth organization, he replied:

"It is not true that we all rose when the chief rose. What was happening with the Slovene initiatives was real obstruction. It could clearly be seen that the voting was being directed and that some people were frightened of voting differently. It is impermissible that under the present circumstances one party can dictate to another. The matters that we were disputing must finally move onto the SFRY Assembly."

According to Anderlic, this does not mean either the first or the decisive step in the destruction of Yugoslavia. Everything arose because the session was badly run. In reply to the comment that it was not any better when Korosec was running the first plenary session, Anderlic said that Korosec also ran the session badly. He admitted that ultimatums are not good but we had to do this because we had been outvoted in a dishonest way. I wonder why some people will not allow others to live the way they want to.

According to Milos Ciric, decisions were made at this congress on the basis of emotions because were it not for these, some of our amendments and proposals would not even accidentally have been rejected in such a way. He thought the Slovene delegation would have abandoned the congress, even if the Kocijancic amendment had been adopted. In reply to a question on why a session of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists had been previously envisaged and scheduled with its "well-known agenda," he said:

"It is true that a session of the Central Committee of our League of Communists has been scheduled for 2 February. Three issues are on the agenda. The first is an assessment of the work of the Extraordinary 14th Congress, the second is the electoral program of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and the third is a debate on changing the name of the League of Communists of Slovenia."

He did not want to go on and comment on the question, "Is this a part of the scenario" that had been prepared in advance? He was definite in the following stand:

"The national conference of the League of Communists is above the congress," adding that he meant the congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Joze Smole appeared in the foyer of the Sava center much later than the other members of the Slovene delegation. With a cigar in his mouth and a smile on his face he said: "This is an important historical moment. Yes, it is a positive moment because it should be realized that we in Slovenia are equal in every respect in Yugoslavia."

Smole also stated the following: "Despite everything, I feel like a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia." He also added, "I am sorry that the Slovenes left because, in 6 months time, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will be in the present positions of the League of Communists of Slovenia. It is not a question of us Slovenes having better ideas, but we

have a better feel for them. We are closer to Europe because we live on its border."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

There Could Even Be a New League of Communists of Slovenia

In reply to the question from BORBA as to whether this move could even lead to a rift in the League of Communists of Slovenia and to those who support "the rest of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" organizing themselves, Peter Bekes said: "I find it difficult to imagine that this will happen. I nevertheless think that this will not happen, but it is the legitimate right of every member, so in that sense I do not exclude the possibility of a new Communist Party of Slovenia appearing."

Proposed LCY Congress Declaration

AU3101083390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 90 p 8

["Proposed Declaration of the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia: For a New Project of Democratic Socialism and a Federal Yugoslavia"]

[Text] This is the political declaration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] concerning the common aims and direct intentions which the Yugoslav Communists are presenting in formulating and implementing social reform and constructing the future shape of Yugoslav socialism.

With this declaration of the LCY, all its members, organizations, and organs accept the political and moral obligation to work for the aims and intentions that are defined in it.

For a World of Peace, Freedom, and Solidarity

1. Deep changes have split the world between the developed and the underdeveloped and between technological and material progress and existential misery. It is threatened with ecological hell. There are many unresolved problems which threaten peace. An equilibrium is emerging between economic and political forces, particularly in Europe. International negotiation and disarmament are progressing. There are great changes in the countries of socialism. In the only world that we have, we determine whether it will embark on a road of peace, freedom, development, and human and social solidarity or whether it will regress into self-destruction. The LCY is fighting for a democratic socialist alternative world.

A Time To Break With Authoritarian Socialism

2. Socialism in the world has been faced with the obsolescence of the present model of social reproduction. Authoritarian socialism has come to an end. It is being swept aside by democratic reforms and the laws of market goods production which change production relations at their root.

Yugoslavia has embarked on a radical social reform. Let us create a new order with the attributes of democratic socialism.

For Democratic Socialism

3. Our aims are a society of freedom and democracy, self-management, material wealth, social justice, and solidarity. Our society should move toward the ever increasing rights of the person and citizen—toward a citizens' republic—but also toward greater social fairness and security. With this democracy and motivation in the market economy, it will become an efficient society according to the criteria of the protection of the person and economic, scientific-technological, and cultural progress.

"We want a Yugoslavia as a democratic socialist society, as a free, pluralist, integrated, economic, and political community, vitally connected with the world."

The Individual's Freedom Above Everything

4. Our society should be founded on the inalienable freedoms and rights of the individual.

There is no other higher historical, state, or class aim above the dignity of the person, nor is there a right or freedom older than the person's individual rights and freedoms. State authority should not encroach on these freedoms; it is obliged only to protect them.

Let us develop political, social, and civil forms of the free activity of the person and their associations. Let us stop the imposed collectivism of the class, the nation, and party and any political violence over the free individuality of the person. Let us liberate people's creativity and spontaneity.

Any violence over freedom is historically reactionary and futile. Freedom implies an area of economic, political, spiritual, national, religious, and any other freedom and is also the source of spontaneous and organized but unimposed collectivism in the social, cultural, political, and all other spheres of life. Thus we will find the real middle ground and avoid the extremes of individualism and collectivism.

As well as the protection of the personal, political, social, and other rights of the person and citizen which are established on the basis of adherence to international standards, particularly those codified in the United Nations, in our democratic socialism we are advocating the development of and adherence to the new rights of the person and citizen inspired by the idea and practice of Yugoslav socialism, for example, the rights that proceed from self- management, national equality, labor, and so on.

We Are Extending the Borders of Political Freedoms

5. The LCY has taken a stand toward the freedom to express opinions regardless of political beliefs, the freedom to gather and associate, the freedom of political and trade union association, public information, and all other civil freedoms that are guaranteed by the modern democratic world.

The setting up of associations, movements, and parties [stranka] depends on the will of citizens, and the Constitution must guarantee them the freedom of elections. The freedom of political association can only be limited by the Constitution for the sake of protecting the constitutional foundations of the Yugoslav federal community from violent destruction and the provocation of national hatred and for the sake of the equal rights and freedoms of others. These are democratic limitations only in the hands of an independent judiciary in a law-governed state.

Under conditions of the freedom of citizens' association, the League of Communists [LC] will fight for the democratic socialist nature of such an association which it represents itself and for cooperation between all equal political entities that are oriented in this way. The LC will fight for its political legitimacy as one of the equal political entities at elections and through other forms of direct expression of the citizens' political will.

With political pluralism we acquire a new quality of life, a new way of achieving power at free elections, and its temporal limitation to an electoral period.

Let Us Strengthen the Right to Self-Management

6. We are fighting for the right to self-management as one of the most important rights in our system. This should be realized as the individual right of every person to free self-organization and self-realization in all spheres of life and particularly as an economic and social right on the basis of labor and means (the right to self-management, to joint decisionmaking, or participation in enterprises) and as a right to self-management for citizens within local and regional frameworks and within the dimensions of the whole community. We will break with an unrealistic normative projection of the self-management system. We will develop self-management as motivation for the creative freedom of the individual and for productive labor and as a way of direct self-liberation of the person and citizen from all types of monopoly.

In the further affirmation of socialist self-management, we will also expand opportunities in relations of entrepreneurship because both are constructed on the foundation of a creative, free, and motivated person.

We advocate free autonomous trade union association and the self-managing and protective functions of the trade union organizations in enterprises in relation to owners and directors and in relation to state power.

For National Equality

7. The LCY stresses the legitimacy of national interests and supports their full affirmation and realization in institutions of the society and the state, but it condemns and rejects nationalist exclusivity and chauvinism because they undermine national equality in Yugoslavia. We will struggle in a decisive and principled way against any violation of national integrity and against the undermining of the common interests of Yugoslavia's peoples and nationalities.

Our aim is a harmonious common life in national equality, in the spread of national cultures, in diversity, in solidarity and reciprocity, and in trust and respect among peoples. We will consistently support the equal position and rights of the nationalities in Yugoslavia and their full integrity. "We will energetically advocate the recognition of and respect for the national rights of our people who live as national minorities in neighboring countries."

For a Free and Peaceful Life for Everyone in Kosovo

8. The long-lasting continuous and organized hostile activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists, who endeavor through an ethnically pure Kosovo and "Kosovo—Republic" to ultimately realize Kosovo's secession from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, is the greatest danger for the country's territorial integrity and stability. Therefore, the battle for Kosovo is also a battle for Yugoslavia. All forces in the LCY must unite around the task of resolving the problems in Kosovo and consistently implement the jointly established LCY policy on Kosovo.

To Disable the Political Monopoly of Bureaucrats

9. The first condition of our social reform is to rid the political system of anyone's monopoly, even that of the LCY. We will thus release those political forces which endeavor to disable any form of bureaucracy and particularly to eliminate them for the sake of economic prosperity, ecological equilibrium, democratic and cultural blossoming, social justice, and security for themselves and all people.

Let us change as soon as possible the system of monopolistic economic and political rule which established a "political class" of bureaucrats and pushed us into an autarky according to the logic of self-perpetuation and prevented us from keeping pace with economic, technological, political, and social changes in Europe and the world. Let us change all that so that tomorrow is not too late for socialism in Yugoslavia.

For a Law-Governed and Social State

10. It is necessary to establish state authority on the principles of a law-governed state, the autonomy of a civil society, and the economic and social functions of a modern state.

By making economic entities, citizens, and their associations independent we will rid ourselves of state-political control and direction. The alternative to normativism is the most essential state regulation of the basic principles and rules to which all entities are equally subject.

The principles of a law-governed state and the rule of law require the application of the sacred, inalienable, and indivisible sovereignty of peoples; political communities of citizens, different forms of direct and representational democracy and democratic control of state authority; legality and the legal equality of citizens; the independence and autonomy of courts and particularly their depolitization; the legislative power of assemblies and their control of executive state power.

We are advocating the reaffirmation and renovation of a welfare state at the present time which will also rest on our socialism's achievements. The state's social functions should ensure that there is more care for the common good and prosperity of citizens and for their social security and better quality of life.

There is no electoral freedom for citizens without freedom of the press and political association. We are demanding the right for all political entities to establish their candidates independently and under equal conditions and participate in the election process.

The Democratic Federal Structure of Yugoslavia

11. The federal structure based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles is the foundation of a socialist Yugoslavia. Our society's democratic reform also requires radical democratization of the federation.

The modern Yugoslav federation can exist and develop only as a community of voluntarily associated and equal peoples and nationalities and as a federal state of their socialist republics and citizens created by the free will of peoples on the basis of inalienable rights to self-determination—which also include the right to secession—in line with the SFRY Constitution. Within the framework of the jointly established functions in the SFRY Constitution, the federation is a complete state-legal entity.

In the third stand in the 7th line above add "of the citizen" after the word "sovereignty" and in the 8th and 9th lines delete the words "but to the same extent and of all citizens of the SFRY." [sentence as published]

Thus, we will develop interethnic relations on the principles of national equality, brotherhood, cooperation, and permeation instead of a bureaucratically poisoned confrontation.

Let us transform federal organs into organs of a democratic law-governed state with those economic and social functions without which there is no free market economy. These functions are of mutual interest to everyone in Yugoslavia and they should be established in the SFRY Constitution on the basis of a free agreement between federal units. Let us restore identity and legitimacy to our federation as a modern federal state.

The present situation requires more than ever before that the federal state—based on these principles and on the basis of consensus between and the responsibility of its constituent entities—has the legal strength essential to resolve problems in the Yugoslav community, to use its powers to conduct a macroeconomic policy suitable for a market economy, and to become the guarantor of the constitutional position, freedom, equality, and sovereignty of citizens, nations, and their states, as well as the constitutional rights of the nationalities in Yugoslavia and the economic and other subjects in our system.

The federation's constituent subjects are the federal units and citizens of Yugoslavia with their inalienable national sovereignty. These subjects contain the federal state's source of power and sovereignty, and the organs of the state are responsible to them.

The new constitution should apply these principles in organizing the federal state and defining relations with republics and provinces. The federal units need to be independent and efficient as integral parts of the federal constitutional order. This will make possible successful national development and the development of every federal unit, as well as the consolidation of the Yugoslav community on the basis of these units' responsibility for their own development and the country's development. We reject all ideas and attempts to change this position of the republics in the direction of the unitarization or state-legal disintegration of the Yugoslav federation.

Our federalism is much more than a state structure. We advocate free citizens', self-managing, and other initiatives which will imbue the Yugoslav community. We also advocate the spontaneity and self-organization of connections and institutions in the sphere of a civil society which expand this community and enhances it with elements to suit the person and associated peoples and nationalities.

For the Unity of Defense and the Armed Forces of the SFRY

12. We see strengthening Yugoslavia's defense capability as an integral part of its entire social development. This includes the further integration of defense into all social currents.

All-peoples defense will continue to be developed as a factor of the strengthening of peace and the defense of freedom, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the constitutionally established order of Yugoslavia. We advocate a unified, efficient, and rational system of defense and security in line with changes in the world and in our society. This requires the constant development of unified and modern armed forces to carry out constitutionally established tasks.

The Yugoslav People's Army will be developed further as the common armed force of all peoples and nationalities and working people and citizens of Yugoslavia, which requires the preservation and nurture of its Yugoslav and popular character.

For a Break With the Consensus Economy—for a New Developmental Concept

13. Our aim is economically efficient, market-based, but also ecologically and socially responsible economic operations.

The reformed economic order will mark a break with the so-called consensus economy which destroys the effect of market laws. Adherence to the market of all factors of production and the state's modern role will facilitate a quicker move toward material and spiritual prosperity and the qualitative maintenance and development of all areas of life and society's institutions.

We will build on these principles a new developmental concept and economic structure open to modern economic, scientific, and technological progress which facilitates dynamic economic and social development, a reduction in unemployment, productive employment, and the resolution of housing problems, as well as a protected ecological area. We need to strengthen a unified Yugoslav market and integrate into the European and world economic community with developed market ethics of economic responsibility, rationality, and reciprocity.

The Yugoslav unified economic area will be shaped by the free circulation of goods and services, capital, people, ideas, and knowledge, entrepreneurship, and the free association of independent economic entities. Social activities must be thoroughly reformed into modern and rational production, service, and other activities under conditions of the market competition of forms of ownership wherever that is possible, and they must be protected from monopoly in all other cases.

Inflation has become our society's most serious problem and it must therefore be urgently halted and reduced to normal limits.

Knowledge as a Value and Developmental Force

14. We will develop a decisive, effective, and modern system and use knowledge as the main production force and value. Scientific-technological development is an integrative world process and our socialism thus has a chance only as an open society in the temporal and geographic sense and according to human rights and people's creative chances. We will achieve a lot by more quickly and extensively joining the research programs of Europe and other world regions, including and linking the achievements of modern science.

By respecting and supporting the individual's freedom to increase his or her creative power, we are making ourselves capable of carrying out radical changes in modes of production, in production relations, and in the class and social structure for the effective application and development of scientific-technological achievements. Socialist forces must recognize and use the new opportunities in the emancipation of the individual and the development of self-management in the potential of post-industrial technology for organizing work, business operations, and social management.

We advocate total freedom of artistic and other creative powers of the human spirit. We consider the creation of material conditions and an inspirational social climate for such creativity a measure of our humanist orientation.

Property Cannot Exist Without Owners

15. We will strive for equal general conditions for conducting business operations in enterprises with all types of ownership, for social property that will reproduce and increase itself as social capital, for a rational management of social property in different forms, under the conditions characterized by competing types of ownership, for different types of ownership to mutually link and permeate one another, and for the process of socialization and privatization to develop itself according to the market's economic laws; we will strive for such production relations as will facilitate a high level of development of production forces through the market competition of all types of ownership.

Social property must have an owner in the economic and legal sense in order to be property. We cannot and will not resolve this issue according to the administrative but rather according to the market logic which also implies the possibility of stock-ownership, collective ownership, and similar methods of socializing production, that is, the socialization of the currently apparent social as well as private property and the right to appropriate the results of social production. We are starting a complex process of transforming social ownership. We are in favor of every individual having the right to be the owner of property, by himself or with others, with the guarantee that nobody can deprive him of this property arbitrarily.

The LC strives for state and public ownership wherever they are the most appropriate for the nature of activity and the purpose of things and where the public interests are prevalent and where the primary objective is not to make a profit or where making profit is not possible. These types of ownership require effective mechanisms of social control and different forms of participation in management.

Environmental and Human Protection

16. The meaning and fate of human life increasingly depend on the environment's protection and preservation. This protection has become an existential, biological, economic, political, legal, and cultural question of every modern society, including ours. This is why this issue is among the primary program objectives of the LCY. The world must apply its joint efforts to stop the

destruction of nature so that it does not slide into the abyss of self-destruction forever. This danger represents a fabric that binds not only Yugoslav society, but also European and world societies, because it requires global action. Socialism is facing a new opportunity—an initiative for ecological movements.

Yugoslavia must develop much more rapidly if it is to pull itself out of undevelopment, but in doing so it must join the modern world which is looking for a way to balance quantitative progress with as good a life as possible, a life in which ecology will occupy the prime position. Man's right to a healthy environment is one of the most important individual rights which every society and its organs of power must protect, especially from the interests of those members of the world and their own community to whom the interest for profit, that is to say, gain, comes before the interest in preserving the environment. This must become one of the most important duties of a law-governed state.

We will harmonize development and ecology. Let us establish an ecologically open society through democratic decisionmaking and rigorous public supervision of those business and social activities that threaten the human environment. The striking force of social control are mass and initiative ecological movements which think globally and act locally.

New Social Policy in a New Plan of Development

17. The quality of social security, reciprocity, and solidarity of people under the conditions of a market economy are seen as the value of the entire society, a value of democratic socialism. Our social policy should rely more on the social functions of the state and social community, as well as on the responsibility of the individual.

There is no just social policy without a just taxation policy.

We are striving for a just society in Yugoslavia, a society that will offer equal opportunities and development possibilities as much as is possible. We are in favor of a social policy which will stimulate and demand the increasing responsibility of individuals for themselves and their well-being, as well as in favor of self-organization in insuring themselves against risks (through various communities, trade unions, and so forth). Let us use the social policy and create new opportunities for every Yugoslav to express himself through his work and, only when this is not possible, allow society to provide him with basic social security. We strive for the comprehensive and active planning and protection of family policy, and particularly for a good quality of life for children. The unemployed will be most effectively protected through an insurance system and by appropriate economic development. The special protection of the veterans of the national liberation war and the war's disabled veterans should remain in the care of the federation and republics.

The LCY Must Change Itself

18. In a democratic society nobody can be the exponent of the exclusive political truth.

The LCY should transform itself as soon as possible into a modern, unified, democratic, and political organization with a renewed socialist program. During the process of the LCY's transformation one should work out and emphasize those components of the LCY's organization and activities and those relations between the LCY and its parts, as well as between it as an organization and its membership, which will ensure a democratic character of creativity and accountability in implementing the LCY's policies and the equality and independence of the republican LC organizations, including those that are in the structure of the LC of Serbia.

The Yugoslav Communists will work under the conditions of a pluralist political organization in society as an equal political organization in democratic interaction with other political subjects and in a democratic alliance with socialist oriented organizations, associations, and movements of citizens.

The LC needs new political ideas and new programs for socialism in Yugoslavia, it needs public political initiatives in the democratic pluralist ambience, and especially in the electoral and assembly life, for the realization of these programs. Only such a LC can succeed in the new project of socialism.

The LCY's social base should be the strata which are the exponents of social progress, especially the workers and the most creative strata in the production sector, science, and all forms human creativity. At the same time the LCY must be open to all those who accept and want to develop its communist ideas and socialist program orientation. Thus, the LCY will establish links with other political subjects with the purpose of jointly realizing certain program aims.

We will develop democratic internal party relations which will place emphasis on a free political initiative and creative equality of every member and organization and to which all organizational forms and norms of behavior in the LC will be adapted.

Incorporated in Europe

19. The world is experiencing the emergence of a new type of interdependence, which is the result of the global problems of ecology, democracy, technology, population, and relations between the North and South. With these problems we are entering a new era of international relations which can no longer be founded on the struggle for the dominance of the military-political and ideologically opposing blocs and systems. Peace and international security are an inalienable right of man, the people, and the country that is realized through the equality of relations and cooperation in the international community.

The Nonaligned Movement, which operates—respecting the United Nations—on the principles of a humanist idea of the world of peace, cooperation, and prosperity, remains for us an essential factor in solving international problems. We will strive for the modernization and comprehensive development of the Nonaligned Movement in new world relations.

We strive for an even more active policy toward Europe. Europe's aims of mutual cooperation and interrelationship are also our aims. We strive for Yugoslavia's comprehensive participation in European integration processes, for the broadest possible cooperation with the European Community, the European Free Trade Association, CEMA, the Council of Europe, and other related European organizations and institutions based on equal footing and independence. We support the initiatives undertaken in this direction by the competent organs in Yugoslavia. Therefore, our new place in Europe is the cornerstone of Yugoslavia' total transformation and prosperity. We are approaching a united Europe considering it as being united through diversity.

Type of Cooperation With Other Parties and Movements

20. The LCY's transformation is inseparable from the full openness and cooperation with other political parties and movements in view of the principle of equality and reciprocity, especially as concerns the communist, socialist, and social-democratic parties. The changes in the LCY's program will give a new impetus and substance to this cooperation. This process of linking up and cooperation includes in principle different forms of permanent ties and even association with the purpose of carrying out certain program aims.

Priority Political Moves

Directly after the congress, the LC will launch a political initiative with the aim of making—as soon as possible and at the latest in half a year's time—the corresponding decisions and preparations for projected changes. It will particularly do the following:

I

1. Immediately embark on a radical and comprehensive transformation of the LCY;

2. Prepare proposals as soon after the congress as possible for a new program and statute for the LCY which will be decided upon by the entire LCY membership;

3. Immediately embark on preparing a new SFRY constitution.

II

1. By reconstructing constitutional and legal norms, the necessary conditions and guarantee should be provided for the realization of endorsed international documents in the field of people's freedoms and rights and the individual rights, and freedoms of citizens should be regulated in a new way;

2. The verbal offense and other criminal legal norms which negate the constitutionally established political rights of citizens or are an obstacle to their realization should be scrapped;

3. Electoral laws should establish the conditions and opportunities for the participation of all political entities on an equal footing in elections before the start of the upcoming elections;

4. A law on the freedom of political association on the principles presented in this declaration should be passed;

5. The implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo should be speeded up;

6. A procedure for Yugoslavia joining the Council of Europe should be launched.

III

1. Political initiatives should quickly be taken so that a social consensus is reached in Yugoslavia on a program for bringing down inflation and the tasks in this program should be carried out by the middle of 1990 at the latest;

2. There should be political support for the projected radical economic reform through changing the economic system and economic and political policies;

3. Conditions should be created for new economic development and for Yugoslavia to join European and world integrational processes on this basis.

Yugoslavia Said Stronger Than Any Party

AU3001124090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 90 p 2

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Yugoslavia Is Still Stronger"]

[Text] The scene is from Belgrade, in front of the Sava center. Streetcars have already begun their regular daily runs at 0400 in the morning and the ever increasing numbers of passers-by are hurrying to work.

This picture would not be anything unusual if everything had not been taking place in front of the building in which the federal party congress was undergoing its spectacular finale. The delegates are going home and there is only one thought on the minds of many of them, "that is it for Yugoslavia."

We asked one passer-by whether he knew what was going on in the Sava center. The response was short and sharp: "I am in a hurry to get to work."

"By accepting the proposal for suspending the work of the Extraordinary 14th Congress, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would in practical terms be dissolved and deprived of its leadership, and the time needed for it

to be reconstituted would be uncertain, which, under these conditions of crisis, could lead to very serious consequences for the League of Communists, the whole of our country, and its future." (Slobodan Milosevic)

"Yugoslavia will continue to function." (Ante Markovic)

Really, does the collapse of the congress and the beginning of the definite departure of members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also mean the end of Yugoslavia?

The dilemma seems to have been excessively dramatized and overdone. This (un)expected finale to the congress probably in fact best shows that Yugoslavia is made of sterner stuff and is stronger than both the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and any political factor and leadership, and that the destiny of society and its reform course should no longer be linked to the fate of the ruling or a departing political party. After all, a party which does not have sufficient strength, feeling, or political maturity to adapt to the new democratic times and which at its "historical" congress—which was important in many respects for its own fate and that of this society—fell significantly below the level of normal democratic and civilized conduct, does not even deserve to survive. The political leadership has gambled away—in its nationalistic romanticism, dogmatic exclusivity, and fantasies—even the little hope that something more serious could be done in this society with the League of Communists.

It was necessary for the Slovenes to carry out their intention and the first congress to be held without a previously written (realizable) scenario for the party's real value to be seen, as well as how little was needed for this once "united and monolithic structure" to collapse like a house of cards. This is in fact what happened, despite the fact that some chronic "optimists" in the federal leadership and certain republican leaderships still believe that the congress can continue and "preserve unity." The fact that the congress itself could not decide when it will continue but left this up to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (which has been singled out as the main culprit for the "collapse of the system") justifies those who think that there can no longer be a continuation of the "congress rendez-vous"—at least not under the conditions that dominated at this probably final attempt to reconcile the quarreling party elites.

If this is the case, if the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has been defeated, and if, even after this congress disaster the legitimacy of a leadership which has demonstrated a large amount of impotence and inability continues, then its greatest contribution in the months to follow would be to not repeat the mistakes which it has made in abundance in the last few months and not to heap its inability on the shoulders of the entire society. Should it really be shown again how much was paid in exorbitant costs of a crisis that was caused primarily by the leaderships of the League of Communists with their national and nationalist exclusivity and intolerance. They have gone so far that they have sown discord among whole peoples.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the people have finally realized what the crux of the matter is and that it will no longer so easily go along with the sweet-talking and promises that have not been fulfilled in the real activities of the multiplied and prepotent leaders and chiefs. Day by day, people are increasingly turning to themselves, their own problems, interests, and personal and family survival, and to what will extricate them from the present not inconsiderable troubles and they are believing less and less that some national, communist or any other "higher goals" could provide them with a more decent and dignified life.

It is difficult for us to get used to living—although we nevertheless will have to get used to this—in a depoliticized society, in a community in which membership of one or other political party and even the League of Communists (if it survives at all) will be a person's personal affair which should not influence their personal, work, and professional status in society, and in which conflicts between politicians will not have an influence if they do not provide economic and social prosperity. Rallying around the accepted reform course of the federal government (and implementing it) and respecting basic human, national, economic, and political rights will undoubtedly make futile the wars which the present leaderships are conducting in the country and party over the redistribution of power.

The time will surely come for this to happen, as Yugoslavia really is—let us repeat—stronger than any political party.

Communists in Federal Fund Criticize Slovenia

AU3001142990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 90 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Slovenia Does Not Have the Right to Stop Contributions to the Fund for Underdeveloped"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting of the communists in the Federal Fund for financing the accelerated development of the economically underdeveloped republics and the province of Kosovo, during the discussion on the situation following the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the participants in the discussion reviewed a report presented at the session of the Executive Council of the Slovene Assembly concerning the proposal that Slovenia suspend 48.1 percent of its contributions to the fund, which is what Kosovo is entitled to receive from Slovenia's contributions to the fund.

This news met with the disapproval of the communists in the Federal Fund, who pointed out that this would affect all underdeveloped regions. If Slovenia did not pay its contributions to the fund for 1990, the whole amount

of resources in the fund available for all the underdeveloped regions, and not just Kosovo, would be reduced by 8.37 percent.

It was stressed that, according to existing regulations, no single organ of any republic or province can make such a decision or can act according to such a decision because this would be a flagrant violation of the federal law. It was pointed out that the obligations for 1990 were recently determined by the Fund's Assembly with the approval of all republican and provincial delegations.

Closing Date for Serbian Loan Changed

AU1001124890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 90 p 4

[D. Sverko report: "Seven Bites of Inflation"]

[Excerpt] The anticipated dinar part of the public loan for the economic reconstruction of Serbia was exceeded by 14.2 percent during the last few days of last year. Twenty-six December inclusive, the subscribed money for the loan amounted to 2,000 billion and 300 million old dinars (or 200 million and 30,000 new, convertible dinars) [figures as published]. This piece of statistical information would silence even the most suspicious and most malicious people who were forecasting a fiasco of the whole affair if the collected sum had not considerably been affected by inflation.

At the time the loan was floated, the expected amount of 2,000 billion dinars (200 million current dinars) [figures as published] was worth $120.9 million. Let us recall, at that time, $1 was worth 16.54 dinars. Since on 31 December 1989, $1 was already worth 120,000 dinars (12 current dinars), the value of the total loan expressed in terms of foreign currency fell to an extremely modest amount of $19 million. Or to be more precise, due to the depression of the dinar, the value of the dinar part of the loan was reduced incredibly, 7.25 times.

The Serbian Assembly has recently set the same closing date for the subscription of both dinars and foreign currencies, 25 June 1990. [passage omitted]

Charges Planned Against Serb Firms That Broke Ties

AU1701103790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 90 p 3

[D.D. report: "Inspection of Breaks in Business Relations"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Jan—On the basis of a report by the Slovene Chamber of Economy, Franc Mazi, deputy public prosecutor of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, has ordered the republican Market Inspectorate to determine which Serbian enterprises have broken business relations, who is at the head of these enterprises, and what damage resulted, it was stated today. After the facts are established, charges will probably be brought against some responsible people from Serbian enterprises for committing the punishable act from Article 161, Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Penal Code. That article is concerned with the offense of unfair competition.

This was the first official reaction to the charges filed by the Slovenian Chamber of Economy after the republican conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Serbia issued the "Proclamation to the Citizens of Serbia" calling on all Serbian enterprises and institutions to break economic ties with Slovene enterprises and institutions. Charges were filed against Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia, and Dr Mihajlo Milojevic, president of the Serbian Chamber of Economy. It is said in the charges that are currently filed with the Belgrade Communal Public Prosecutor's Office which is responsible for handling them, that what is involved is the suspicion of having committed the punishable act of violating equality in performing economic operations on the basis of Article 161 of the SFRY Penal Code.

It is said in the charges that Radmila Andjelkovic and Dr Mihajlo Milojevic abused their positions when they influenced Serbian enterprises and thereby caused the obvious consequences after many enterprises followed their call to break business relations with Slovenia.